



# GAṄGĀ DEVĪ KĀ MADHURĀVIJAYA EK ADHYAYAN

(THE MADHURĀVIJAYA OF GAṄGĀ DEVĪ : A STUDY)

DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
Master of Philosophy  
IN  
Sanskrit

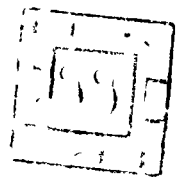
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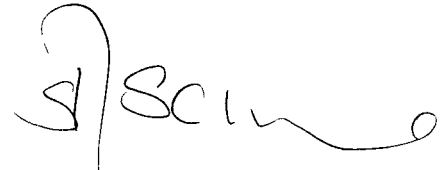


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( The Madhurā vijaya of Gaṅgā Devī; A Study ), submitted  
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## P R E F A C E

Since anicient tim s Sanskrit has been not only the language of religion and mythology but it also attained the position of official and literary language. It is natural that Sanskrit should have a direct impact on its own dialects, but the greatness of Sanskrit is much noticed in its influence on the Dravidian languages. All the literary Dravidian Languages are highly enriched by Sanskrit vocabulary, poetics and prosody.

Strangely enough, both in anicient and medieval times Indians did not pay attention to writing history. Therefore, the few kavyas in Sanskrit based on historical themes and composed in Sanskrit have become most important sources for the history of India.

Though Southern India has its own languages and literatures, Sanskrit also had a place of great importance there.

A look into South Indian history reveals that large empires were being developed consisting of different linguistic groups of people. This is one reason for the



significance and use of Sanskrit as the official medium of royal communication and intellectual activity.

In the medieval times, since the fall of the Kākatīya kingdom, a new and powerful kingdom came into existence with Vijayanagara as the capital. This kingdom comprised of Telugu, Kannada and Tamil regions of Southern India. Under this kingdom, arts and culture flourished greatly.

A major source for the early history of this kingdom is the Mahākāvya called Madhurāvijaya composed by Gaṅgā Devī, who also belonged to the ruling family. Unlike many other Mahākāvyas, Madhurāvijaya is distinguished because the theme of the poem is not imaginary but a real historical event, composed by one who is close to the chief participants of the event.

This poem is also important because a woman poet has composed it, with vīra-rasa as the prominent rasa. This shows the ability of Gaṅgā Devī in delineating such a rasa which is mostly being followed by male poets.

It is interesting to note that Gaṅgā Devī was highly influenced by contemporary Telugu poets like Tikkana and other poets of Andhra region who enriched Sanskrit literature

like Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha. Gaṅgā Devī's Madhurāvijaya is important both as a poem and as history.

In this dissertation an attempt is made to study the versatility of Gaṅgā Devī as a narrator of history, a notable Sanskrit poet and as a woman with an appreciative love for nature. These aspects are critically studied in the following chapters.

The author is grateful to the Department of Sanskrit, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh for encouraging her to undertake the present study. It would have not been possible for the author to complete the present study without the able and scholarly guidance of Dr. S.R. Sarma, Department of Sanskrit, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who has taken great interest in supervising and suggesting the source material from time to time. The author acknowledges her great sense of gratitude for the valuable and timely suggestions given by Dr. Sarma and for spending his valuable time going through the manuscript and making suggestions for necessary corrections.

Last but not in the least, the author is thankful to her family members who encouraged and provided a helping hand to complete the present study.

The author is also thankful to all those scholars who have contributed much to highlight the significance of the Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī.

Mrs. M. Bala. 24/11/89  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CASL,	P. Sriramamurti, <u>Contribution of Andhra to Sanskrit Literature.</u>
HCIP,	R.C. Majumdar (ed), <u>History and Culture of the Indian People.</u>
HCSL,	M. Krishnamachariar, <u>History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.</u>
MV,	<u>Madhurāvijaya.</u>
MV-PS,	<u>Madhurāvijaya</u> , Potukucchi Saubrahmanya Sastri's edition.
MV-T,	<u>Madhurāvijaya</u> , S. Tiruvenkatachari's edition.

## C H A P T E R I

## WOMEN POETS IN ANDHRA

Gaṅgā Devī, the author of the Madhurāvijaya, was perhaps the first major women poet in Sanskrit, hailing from Andhra country. Before we discuss the life and work of Gaṅgā Devī, it will be useful to discuss the status of women in Andhra.

From the early history of Andhra we notice that women played a significant role in the society and enjoyed a superior status than in other parts of the country.

The Śātavahanas are considered to be identical with Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas. They ruled Deccan after the Mauryas from Pratiṣṭhāna as their capital from about 225 B.C. to 225 A.D. <sup>1</sup>

The names of Śātavahana kings found in the inscriptions of Nasik and Naneghat show that they used to add their names after their mother's names. It shows the special position of the mother in the family.

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1. Khaṇḍavalli Lakṣmī Rāñjanam, Āndhrula Caritra Saṃskṛiti, (in Telugu), p. 107.

For example, they had names like Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Gautamīputra Rajñasrī Śātakarṇi.

Andhra women came into light from Hāla Śātavahana's time. Hāla Śātavahana was the seventeenth king of Śātavahana dynasty, who flourished in the first century A.D. He is the compiler of the seven hundred Prakrit verses, known as Gāthāsaptasatī. In this great work, Hāla himself wrote some gāthās, but there are stanzas by other poets also. Some of these poets are women. Firm evidence of women participating in the poetic composition is available from this time only.

The names of the women poets whose beautiful stanzas are included in the Gāthāsaptasatī are as follows:

- |               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Anulacchī  | ( 3. 38, 63, 74, 76.) |
| 2. Asuladdī   | ( 2. 77, 78.)         |
| 3. Pahai      | ( 1. 86)              |
| 4. Mādhavī    | ( 1. 91)              |
| 5. Revā       | ( 1. 90)              |
| 6. Rohā       | ( 2. 63)              |
| 7. Vaddhavatī | ( 1. 70)              |
| 8. Sasippahā  | ( 4. 4) <sup>2</sup>  |

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2. See Bhaṭṭa Śrī Madhurānātha Śāstrī, (ed), Gāthāsaptasatī.

These eight women poets may have been Hāla's contemporaries, or they may have flourished earlier.

Vātsyā<sup>ya</sup>na's Kāmasūtra was also written about this time. There it is said: " There is no doubt that there are many courtesans, princesses, daughters of ministers, whose intellect has been sharpened by the study of śāstras." <sup>3</sup>

In his Kāvyamīmāṃsa, Rājaśekhara modified the above sentence to include women poets also. <sup>4</sup>

After the Śātavahanas, the Ikṣvāku dynasty ruled the Andhra region for a short time. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions were issued by these Ikṣvākus. From the numerous inscriptions of this dynasty we learn that several royal ladies made donations and endowments for Buddhist institutions.

3. Kāmasūtra, I. 3. 12 :

santy api khalu śāstraprahatabuddhaya gaṇikā  
rājaputrya mahamātra-duhitaras ca /

4. Kāvyamīmāṃsa, p. 53 :

puruṣavat yoṣito 'pi kavibhaveyuh / saṃskāro hy ātmani  
samavaiti, na strainam pauraṣam vā vibhāgam apekṣate /  
śrūyante drśyante ca rājputrya mahamātraduhitaro  
gaṇikāḥ kautukibhāryās ca śāstraprahatabuddhyah kavayās ca

More important is the fact that women also bore official titles of their husbands. For example, Śāntamūlī's sister Aḍavi Śāntisiri married Mahātā<sup>la</sup>vara Skandaviśākhaṇāga and became famous as Mahātalavari Aḍvi Śāntisiri. Thus the husband's official title Mahātāvara was added to the wife's name as well.<sup>5</sup>

In later times also some Andhra women became famous for their bravery, able administration and for their contribution to Sanskrit literature.

Special mention must be made of Queen Rūḍrama Devī ( 1258 - 1296 A.D.) who ruled the Kākatiya empire from Warangal. Telugu folk tradition sings of other political leaders like Nāgamma, Śīlamma and Māñcāla of Palanāḍu.

After the twelfth century A.D., a different attitude of Andhra women can be seen. They became versatile scholars in all fields. They started to write beautiful Mahākāvyas also. Especially under Vijayanagara empire, and Tanjor kingdoms, it was the golden age of women scholars and poets.

Molla, Gaṅgā Devī, Mohanāṅgī, Tukka Devī, Tirumalāmbā, these five women poets were from Vijayanagara kingdom.

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5. Khaṇḍavalli Lakṣmī Rāñjanam, Āṇḍhrula Caritra in Sanskrit, p. 76.



It is significant to note that in the reign of Anavotāreḍḍi and also of Anavemāreḍḍi, a poet -āḷṅarasvati was the writer of Sanskrit inscriptions (A.D. 1372).<sup>6</sup>

Vannelakantī Hanumāmbā lived at Nellore. She was a desciple of Brahmānandasarasvatī. In praise of her guru she wrote Brahmānandasarasvatīsvami-pādukāpūjana. Her other works are Dattātreyā-gīta-kadamba and Ṣaṅkara-bhagavatpādasahasranāmāvali.<sup>7</sup>

Śārada Devī was praised by the great poet Diṇḍima Aruṇagirinātha. ~~But~~ But no work by her is available today.

Śrīraṅgābhyudaya-campū was said to have been written by Triveṇī. However, only one colophon stanza is available today, and her time and place are not known.

During the Vijayanagara period Sanskrit literature reached its heights with the immense encouragement of the kings.

It is significant to note that the first effort in the field of historical poems were made by women poets. In that field Gaṅgā Devī and Purumalāmbā of Vijayanagara, Rāmabhadraṁbā and Adhuravāṇi from Tanjor made their mark.

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6. CASL, p. 61.

7. Ibid.; p. 152.

Gaṅgā Devī, the consort of Kampana II, son of Bukka I, wrote the historical poem Madhurāvijaya or Virakamparīya carita describing the conquest of Madhurā (Madurai) by her husband.

Tirumalāmbā, wife of Acyutarāya of the sixteenth century wrote the Varadāmbikāparinaya-campū, describing her husband's marriage with queen Varadāmbikā. It is a pleasant composition in prose and verse.

According to M. Krishnamachariar, Acyutarāya belongs to Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and he ascended the throne in 1530 A.D.<sup>8</sup>

The Tanjor rulers encouraged poets and scholars. Among those rulers, the third king of the Nāyaka dynasty, Raghunātha, was a great and famous king. He promoted scholarship and fine arts in his kingdom.

Like Kṛṣṇadevarāya's court during Vijayanagara reign, Raghunātha's court was a centre for scholars, especially for women. Many learned courtesans flourished during this time.

Rāmabhadraṁbā was one of those great courtesans of Raghunātha. Like Gaṅgā Devī and Tirumalāmbā, she also

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8. HCSL, p. 220.

wrote a historical kāvya Raghunāthābhyudaya, describing the heroic deeds of her lover. She wrote this kāvya in twelve sargas and in nine hundred ślokaś. She described the life of Raghunātha very romantically and beautifully. She belongs to the seventeenth century. P. Krishna Chariar considered her as Raghunātha's queen.<sup>9</sup>

Another precious gem of Raghunātha's court was Madhuravāṇī. King Raghunātha's Āndhra-rāmāyaṇa was translated by Madhuravāṇī into Sanskrit. In one of the ślokaś, she states that she belongs to a brahmin and scholarly family.

viyānvavāyī nihitāvatārā  
 suśikṣitā sā viduṣātvayaiva /  
 vidyā parikṣā-samaye viśeṣāt  
 prakāśamānapratibhānubhāvā // <sup>10</sup>

In the colophon stanzas she states that she not only wrote the Rāmāyaṇasāra-kāvya but also Kumārasambhava and Naiṣadha.

Only fifteen hundred ślokaś of her Rāmāyaṇasāra-kāvya (upto Sundarakāṇḍa) are available in Bangalore Veda Vedanga Mandir Library.

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9. HCCL, p. 230.

10. Ūṭukūri Lakṣmīkāntamma, Āndhra Kavayitrulu (in Telugu), p. 44.

In the Nāyaka dynasty, Vijayarāmanāyaka was the last king (1633-1674 A.D.). He was also a great patron of learning and arts. Many women poets flourished during his time. Among those Kṛṣṇājamma and Raṅgājamma were said to be great poets and famous courtesans. Kṛṣṇājamma's writings are not available now.

Raṅgājamma wrote many kāvyas in Telugu. In her Usāparinayaprabandha she describes herself as the wife of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka. Her works in Telugu are:

1. Rāmāyanakathāsaṅgraha,
2. Bhāratākathāsaṅgraha,
3. Bhāgavatākathāsaṅgraha,
4. Mannārudāsavilāsa (Drama),
5. Mannārudāsavilāsa (Yakṣgāna),
6. Usāparinayaprabandha.

She could compose poems in eight languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil, etc.<sup>11</sup>

She is more advanced than her predecessors in introducing herself in her works. She gave all details about herself in her works. Her guru was Cāṅgalvakāla kavi.

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11. G. Nāgayya, Telugu Sāhitya Samikṣā, (1: Telugu), p. 405.

In her Mannārudāsaprabandha, she mentions some other women poets, of Vijayarāghava's court. They are Kastūramma, Ambujavallī, Śaśirekhamma, Mohanamūrtamma and Kṛṣṇājamma.<sup>12</sup>

Cengalvakāla kavi praised Cendr<sup>ā</sup>rekḥā and Kṛṣṇājamma in his Rājagopālavilāsa. Cendrarekḥā was an expert in extempore poetry (āsukavitā). Both of them were experts in samasyāpūraṇas, which were held in Vijayarāghava's court. They were regular participants of every literary function.

Muddupalani belongs to the eighteenth century. She wrote a romantic kāvya in Telugu Rādhikāsvāntana. It is a mixture of prose and poetry and is dedicated to Bālakṛṣṇa. Social life, romantic feelings etc. are reflected in her writings. She is praised by later poets as one of the best women poets of Andhra literature.

She was patronised by the Tanjor Maḥārastra king Pratāpa Simhendramauli (1736-1763 A.D.). Her teacher was Tirumala Vīrarāghava.

These are some of the well known poets of Sanskrit and Telugu literature from Andhra Desa. Unknown gems also might be there in the history of Andhra. A continuous research is needed to find out those scholars.

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12. G. Nagayya, Telugu Sāhitya Samīksā, p. 406.

It is significant to note that, since a long time , Andhra contrubuted to Sanskrit literature by producing various men women scholars and poets.

Of all the women poets, Gaṅgā Devī occupies an important position. Her Madhurāvijaya is not only the first major poem by an Andhra woman, it is also one of the finest historical poems.

## C H A P T E R II

## GAṄGĀ DEVĪ, HER LIFE AND TIME

Gaṅgā Devī is the first woman to write a historical poem in Sanskrit called Madhurāvijaya. It is also known as Vīrakamparāya-carita. As the two titles suggest, the poem deals with the life of prince Kampana and his conquest of Madurai.

Gaṅgā Devī does not give any information about herself. At one place she just introduces herself as Kampana's wife.<sup>1</sup> Kampana was the son of King Bukka, one of the founders of the famous Vijayanagara kingdom.

Kampana played a major role in the expansion of this kingdom in the south upto Rameswaram. Under his able captainship, the Vijayanagara forces defeated the Muslim army in a fearsome battle at Madurai. By killing the Sultan of Madurai, Kampana conquered the entire South India and brought it under the supremacy of the Vijayanagara kingdom.

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1. MV, VII. 39:

atha kampanṛpo 'pi kṛty<sup>a</sup>vit kṛtasandhyāsanayocitakriyāḥ /  
avadat savidhe sthitām priyām bhuvi gaṅgety abhinanditāhvayān .

Her name may have occurred also in III. 18, but the last two lines of this stanza are missing.

In order to appreciate the significance of the conquest of Madurai by Kāmpana, it is necessary here to briefly describe the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Muslim Sultans of Delhi began to extend their kingdom southwards into Deccan. In 1293 A.D. Alauddin Khalji, nephew of the Sultan of Delhi, captured Devagiri. In 1309 A.D. his general, Malik Kafur defeated Pratāparudradeva, the kākatiya king of Warangal and extracted annual tribute from him. He also captured Hoyasal Ballāla's capital Dvārasamudra. He occupied Mabar coast also.<sup>2</sup>

When Pratāparudra stopped paying the tribute after the fall of the Khalji dynasty, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq sent an expedition against him in 1323 A.D. Pratāparudra was taken captive and is said to have committed suicide while he was being taken to Delhi. Thus ended the powerful kākatiya empire in about 1323 A.D.

In the same year, Ghiyasuddin's armies succeeded in establishing a viceroyalty of the Delhi empire in the distant Madurai. But after ten years, taking advantage

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2. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 24.



Of the distance from Delhi, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah put an end to the viceroyalty of Delhi, and became the independent ruler of Madurai. Thus an independent Sultanate was established in Madurai in about 1333 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

To Defend South India against the Muslim onslaught, a small Hindu State was established around 1336 A.D. by two brothers called Harihara and Bukka. They were previously in the service of the kākatiya ruler Pratāp-rudra as treasurers.

After the fall of the kākatiya kingdom they moved southwards, and established a kingdom with the capital at Vijayanagara, which they built on the banks of the river Tungabhadra. There is a great deal of controversy about the early life of Harihara and Bukka, and about the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom. This controversy will be discussed in the following chapter. But this much is certain that Harihara proclaimed himself the king in about 1336 A.D. and that Bukka was made co-regent.

Harihara died without any children and succeeded by his brother Bukka in 1356 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

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3. s. Tiruvenkatachari, Introduction to MV, pp. 40-41.

4. HCIP, Vol. VI, p. 270.

Started as a small kingdom, Vijayanagara became a mighty empire within a short time under the able administration of Bukka. He appointed his sons as governors of various provinces.

Of all the sons, Kampana, born from queen Devāyī, played a decisive role in the expansion of the kingdom southwards by conquering Kanchi and Madurai.

The conquest of Madurai sultanate was of crucial importance in the consolidation of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The Sultan's rule was oppressive;; Hindu subjects were cruelly persecuted and their temples were closed down. By removing the Sultan, Kampana not only brought the entire south India under vijayanagara kingdom but also earned the gratitude of the people.

This great historical event is the main theme of Gaṅgā Devī's historical poem Madhurāvijaya. It is likely that Gaṅgā Devī accompanied her husband in his campaigns against Kanchi and Madurai. Therefore, her accounts carry greater authenticity than the descriptions available in other historical poems of this nature.

At the beginning of the poem, Gaṅgā Devī pays tributes to twelve great poets, starting from Vālmiki. Of these, the mention of the last four poets throw considerable light on Gaṅgā Devī's life. These four poets are Pikkana, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha.

Tikkana, who lived in the thirteenth century, is renowned for his Telugu translation of the Mahābhārata. In the eleventh century Nannaya Bhaṭṭa had translated the first three parvans into Telugu. Tikkana completed the task by rendering the remaining fifteen parvans. By praising Tikkana's poetic diction, Ganga Devi proves herself to be a Telugu-speaking lady.<sup>5</sup>

The last three poets eulogised by Gaṅgā Devī, are her contemporaries, and are associated with Pratāparudra's court at Warangal.

Gaṅgā Devī refers to Agastya as the author of seventyfour kavyas.<sup>6</sup> Some scholars are of the view that Agastya had the title Vidyānātha, under which he wrote the Pratāparudrayasobhūṣana in honour of his patron Pratāparudra.<sup>7</sup>

5. MV, I. 14 :

tikkayasya kaveḥ sūktiḥ kaumudīva kalānidheḥ /  
satṛṣṇaiḥ kavibhiḥ svairam cakorair iva sevyate //

6. MV, I. 14 :

catussaptati kāv्यoktivyaktavaiduṣyasampade /  
agastyāya jagat asmin sprhayet kona kovidaḥ //

7. HCSL, p. 214.

Gaṅgādhara, whom Gaṅgā Devī refers to as the second Vyāsa, because he dramatised the story of the Mahābhārata,<sup>8</sup> was the husband of Agastya's sister.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, Viśvanātha who is Gaṅgā Devī's own guru and for whom she wished a long life<sup>10</sup> was Gaṅgādhara's son and Agastya's nephew. Viśvanātha is the authour of a drama Saugandhikāharana, which was enacted for the first time at the court of Pratāparudra.<sup>11</sup>

The fact that Gaṅgā Devī was a pupil of Viśvanātha, and that Viśvanātha as also Gaṅgādhara and Agastya belonged to the court of Pratāparudra at Warangal, suggests that Gaṅgā Devī must be a princess of the kākatiya royal family.

8. MV, I. 15 :

stumas tam aparaṃ vyāsaṃ gaṅgādhara mahā kavim /  
nāṭakāchadmanā dṛṣṭaṃ yaś cakre bhāratīm kathām //

9. CASL, p. 44. HCSL, p. 652 wrongly states that "Gaṅgādhara was the son of Agastya's sister."

10. MV, I. 16 :

ciraṃ sa vijayī bhūyāt viśvanāthaḥ kavīśvaraḥ /  
yasya prasādāt sārvaṇīyaṃ samindhe mādrasoḥ api //

11. Saugandhikāharana, p. 1-2 :

---rājñā pratāparudraṇa sambhāvitaiśśaśeṣa-vidyāviśeṣa-  
sārasārvaṇīyadhaureyamatiḥ sabhāsadbhir āhūta  
sabahumānam adiṣṭo ' aśmi.....viśvanātha iti  
khyātaḥ kavir astu yaduktayaḥ //

Bukka and Harihara, the founders of the Vijayanagara kingdom were at first the treasurers of Pratāparudra. Therefore, it is quite possible that Bukka chose a princess of the Kākatīya family as his daughter-in-law.

Inscriptional records mentioning Kampana cease after 1374 A.D., but those referring to his father Bukka continue upto 1377 A.D. Therefore, scholars assume that Kampana died prematurely in 1374 A.D. and Bukka was succeeded by another son Harihara II in 1377 A.D. Historians place Kampana's conquest of Madurai in 1371 A.D.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the Madhurāvijaya must have been composed between the years 1371 A.D. and 1374 A.D.

The Madhurāvijaya is the only available work written by Gaṅgā Devī. We do not know if she wrote any other work. Unfortunately, even the Madhurāvijaya is not completely available. There is only one manuscript of this poem, which was discovered by accident amidst a heap of wornout palm leaf manuscripts, in the Sanskrit Manuscript Library, Trivandrum. The manuscript as discovered was incomplete with ten leaves missing in the middle and many slokas are incomplete in the available portion. Nearly seventy slokas are missing in the poem.

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12. HCIP, Vol. VI. pp. 279-280.

The first eight sargas are numbered consecutively. After the gap of ten leaves, comes the concluding sarga which is not numbered. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether it is the ninth or tenth sarga.<sup>13</sup>

The Madhurāvijaya was published for the first time in 1916 by G. Harihara Sastri and V. Srinivas Sastri, with an introduction by T.A. Gopinatha Rao. In 1957 this poem was published again with an English translation by S. Thiruvēnka<sup>ta</sup>chhari from Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. In 1969 this poem was published by Potukuchi Subrahmanya Sastri with an elaborate and learned comentary in Sanskrit. Subrahmanya Sastri also attempted to fill the gaps metrically in the incomplete stanzas.

Even in this incomplete state, the Ma<sup>h</sup>urāvijaya shines forth as a beautiful poem and as a historical document of great authenticity. In the following chapters we shall evaluate this text from the view-point of history and that of poetry.

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13. Potukucchi Subrahmanya Sastri's edition treats it as the nin th sarga. We shall follow this practice.

## C H A P T E R   I I I

## HISTORCITY OF MADHURĀVIJAYA

## 1. Foundation of Vijayanagara Empire

In her historical poem Madhurāvijaya, Gaṅgā Devī does not give any information about the foundation of Vijayanagara kingdom. After the invocation of various gods, tributes to the great poets of the past and so on, Gaṅgā Devī commences the poem with a conventional description of king Bukka, the younger brother of Harihara.<sup>1</sup> But the description of the king and of the capital city and its people show that the kingdom of Vijayanagara was well-established when Gaṅgā Devī wrote this poem.

The poet describes her father-in-law as a great king with many vassals obeying his command. Her main purpose in describing the greatness of Bukka at length<sup>2</sup> is to create the necessary background for the exploits of Bukka's son Kampana, who is the hero of the poem.

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1. MV, I. 26 :

āsīt samasta-sāmanta-mastak-nyasta-sāsonah  
bukkarāja iti khyāto rājā harihar<sup>ā</sup>nujaḥ //

2. MV, I. 26-42.

Later on we get the information of two historical incidents, Kampana's campaign to Kanchi and his campaign to Madurai.

The two brothers Harihara and Bukka are said to be the founders of the Vijayanagara kingdom. However, several theories are prevalent about their past history, and about how they found a new kingdom.

In his famous book, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, Robert Sewell presents various theories about the foundation of this kingdom. The first theory occurs in the chronicle of Portuguese traveller Fernão Nuniz who visited India in the first half of sixteenth century.

According to him, Muhammad Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi, invaded Deccan around 1336 A.D. After capturing the fortress of Anegundi on the banks of Tungabhadra, he appointed Harihara who was previously a minister there, as the chief of the state. This Harihara founded the city of Vijayanagara on the southern bank of Tungabhadra opposite Anegundi. He was helped by the great religious teacher Mādhava in the founding of the city. After the death of Harihara his younger brother Bukka became the king and ruled the state nearly thirtyseven years. Bukka's son Harihara II became the king after him.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, p. 6.



Another version is as follows: In 1323 A.D. the kingdom of Warangal was destroyed by the Muslim invaders. At that time Bukka and Harihara were in the service of the kākatiya king. After the defeat of the kākatiya king they escaped to the hill fort Anegundi. Mādhava or Mādhavācarya Vidyāranya accompanied them. They founded the Vijayanagara city and ruled there.<sup>4</sup>

According to a third theory, the two brothers were officers in the court of the Muslim governor of Warangal. Under Malik Kafur's command in 1310 A.D., these two brothers fought against Hoyasa Ballāla near Dvārasamudra. They suffered defeat and ran away to the mountains of Anegundi. Here they met Mādhava and founded the kingdom with his help.<sup>5</sup>

Another story tells that the sage Mādhava discovered a hidden treasure. With that he himself established the city and ruled. He left the kingdom to a Kuruba family after his death. The Kuruba family then established the first regular dynasty.<sup>6</sup>

Another account about the foundation of Vijayanagara kingdom is as follows: Harihara and Bukka, two Hindu

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4. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, p. 20.

5. Ibid, pp. 20-21.

6. Ibid, p. 21.

brothers from Kur<sup>u</sup>ba caste, served as treasurers of the Kākatīya king at Waraṅgal. After the destruction of Kākatīya kingdom in 1323 A.D. by the Muslims, they took service as minister and treasurer under the king of Anegundi.

Later the king was defeated by the Sultan of Delhi, who left Malik Kafur to rule the kingdom. Since the people were hostile to him, he finally surrendered the kingdom to Harihara and Būkka.<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to decide which of these versions is nearer to the truth. But this much is certain: Harihara and Bukka were at first connected with the Kākatīya kingdom at Warangal and after its fall, set up an independent kingdom at Hampi.

According to popular tradition, Mādhava Vidyāranya inspired them to set up an independent kingdom for the protection of Hindu religion. Today historians do not share this view. In this they are indirectly supported by Gaṅgā Devī. She makes no mention of Vidyāranya anywhere in her poem.

After saluting the gods in the first three stanzas, she pays homage to Kriyāśakti-guru. He must be the royal

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7. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, p. 22.

preceptor of Vijayanagara kings, because Gaṅgā Devī mentions him even before mentioning Vālmīki and Vyāsa. She compares him to Śiva.<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of Vijayanagara kingdom, a high priest of the Śrīkaṇṭhāgama sect called Kriyāśakti most probably became the Kulaguru of Vijayanagara kings. History and inscriptions tell that the early kings of Vijayanagara were all followers of Śaivāgama sect. Therefore, it is natural that Kriyāśakti became the first Kulaguru of Vijayanagara kings. In a Mysore inscription Harihara II acknowledges Kriyāśakti as their Kulaguru. Nearly forty years after the foundation of the kingdom, Vidyāraṇya became prominent through the help of Kriyāśakti.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Vijayanagara: the Capital City

There is controversy regarding the name of the capital city of this kingdom. Some scholars think that the city was originally called Vidyānagara because sage Vidyāraṇya helped in its foundation. Later it changed into Vijayanagara.

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8. MV, I. 4;

asādhāraṇa-sārvajñyaṃ vilasat-sarvamaṅgalam /  
kriyāśaktigurum vande trilocanam ivāparam //

9. MV-T, Introduction, p. 3.

Gaṅgā Devī never mentions the name Vidyānagara. She always calls it Vijaya,<sup>10</sup> meaning victory. She compares it to Indra's Amaravati. At one place, the poet mentions it as Vijayapura.<sup>11</sup>

The poet gives a beautiful and detailed description of the capital city Vijayapura. In the first canto, she describes the city's moat, boundry walls, high towers, pleasure-gardens, pleasure-hillocks, lakes, palaces, beautiful women, scholars and viṭas.

Scholars(budha) praise this city just as gods(budha) praise Indra's Amarāvati. The river Tūṅgabhadrā encircled the city as a difficult moat for enemies.<sup>12</sup>

The city was surrounded on all sides by a strong wall like a circular mountain.<sup>13</sup> There were pleasure groves full of blossoming camṭaka, aśoka, nāgakesara, and kesara trees. There were artificial mountains where musk deer rested under the shade of the camphor plants.<sup>14</sup>

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10. MV, I. 43; see also the "Nallur Grant of Harihara II," Epigraphia Indica, III(1894-95), p. 122, line 54.

11. MV, I. 75.

12. MV, I. 43:

tasyāśīt vijayā nāma vijayārjitasampadaḥ /  
rājadhānī budhaiḥ slaghyā śakraśyevamarāvati //

13. Ibid, I. 45.

14. Ibid, I. 47-48.

The city had beautiful lakes with gem-set steps. Those lakes were always made fragrant by the smell of lotuses and always inhabited by beautiful swans.<sup>15</sup> The capital had high white palaces. They were so high that the disc of the sun looked as if it was a golden jar attached to the top of the palaces. The palaces were so high that at night young maidens playing ball game on the terrace, mistake the moon for their ball of pearls.<sup>16</sup> The city had many spacious wells. The steps of those wells were decorated with gems. Because of the lustre of the gems which drove away the darkness at nights, the cakravāka birds were not separated from one another during the night time.<sup>17</sup>

Vijayanagara is built next to an old town called Pampa or Hampi. A temple of Śiva known as Virūpākṣa is situated there. Virūpākṣa is the family deity of the kings of Vijayanagara. In fact several kings signed the inscriptions not with their real names but with the name of Virūpākṣa. As Vijayanagara expanded, Pampa became its suburb (sākhānagari). Gaṅgā Devī says residing here happily, Virūpākṣa forgot his original abode Alaka.<sup>18</sup>

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15. MV, I. 49.

16. Ibid, I. 55-56.

17. Ibid, I. 60.

18. Ibid, I. 66: yacchākhānagarīm pampām aneḥanantīritān /  
aditiṣṭhan virūpākṣo na smaraty alakāpurīm /

See also the "Mallur Grant of Harihar II", epigraphia-Indica, III(1894-95). p. 122. lines 53-55.

This description of the capital city of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century by the poet appears more realistic when we compare it with the accounts of foreign travellers, the Portuguese horse trader Domingo Paes visited Vijayanagara around 1520 A.D. His accounts are nearer to Gaṅgā Devī's description.

Domingo Paes says that he saw the city from the top of a nearby hill. The city looked as large as Rome. It was very beautiful with many groves of trees in it. All houses were surrounded by gardens. The places have their own lakes.

Close to the Kings's palace there was a palm-grove, with many other rich fruit trees such as mango, areca, lime, and orange. These fruit trees were so close that it looked like a forest.<sup>19</sup>

Paes praises the city as the best provided city in the world. Describing the houses and the palaces, he says that those houses are so white and clean that he could not see better houses in any country.<sup>20</sup> He also praises the Brahmanas and their beautiful wives. Gaṅgā Devī also says that the women of Vijaya are beautiful.<sup>21</sup>

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19. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, pp. 247-248.

20. Ibid, pp. 248-249; also MV, I. 50.

21. Ibid, p. 238; see also MV, I. 52, 61, 63-65.

Paes gave a very detailed description of the Virūpākṣa temple. He also gave a very interesting account of the strong circular wall and about the Tūṅgabhadrā river.<sup>22</sup>

The detailed account by Paes proves that Gaṅgā Devī did not exaggerate when she described the prosperity of the city. According to the inscriptions, this city was founded in 1336 A.D., and by the time Gaṅgā Devī wrote her poem around 1374 A.D., it was a large and prosperous city.

### 3. Būkka's Rule

Gaṅgā Devī described her father-in-law as the younger brother of Harihara I, implying thereby that he succeeded Harihara as the king. He was a great warrior and a great protector of dharma. She says that the tree of dharma, which became dry through the unbearable heat of this Kaliyuga, turned green again by the water poured out when making religious gifts(dānāmbuseka).<sup>23</sup>

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22. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagara, pp. 252, 277.

23. MV, I. 37.

He had all the qualities of a good ruler. He was the first among the rulers like Śeṣa among snakes, Himālaya among mountains and like Viṣṇu among gods.<sup>24</sup>

Through his peaceful and prosperous rule, Lakṣmī forgot her husband. Kubera and Indra look insignificant in front of his prosperity. His subjects imagined that Manu himself was reborn as Bukkarāja. He ruled his kingdom from Vijaya like Indra from Amarāvati.

He was a great devotee of Lord Śiva. His rule extended from Vindhya in the north to Malaya in the south, from Astādri in the west to Rohaṇa mountain in the east.<sup>25</sup>

N. Venkaṭramanayya states that, " Bukka was one of the greatest monarchs of the age, and was the real architect of the Vijayanagara empire. He was a great soldier and achieved conspicuous success on the field of battle, specially against the Muslims. In an age marked by religious bigotry and fanaticism, special reference must be made to the policy of tolerance adapted by Bukka I in dealing with the religious sects in his kingdom."<sup>26</sup>

24. MV, I. 27.

25. I id, I. 71:

ā vindhyād ā malayād astādrer ā ca rohaṇāt /  
prakampitāhitaprāṇaṁ prāṇaṁsimur<sup>sur</sup> amum nṛpāḥ //

26. HCIP, Vol. Vi, p. 280.



#### 4. Bukka's Children

Kampana or Vīra Kampana, the hero of the Madhurāvijaya, was the eldest son of Bukka. Gaṅgā Devī mentioned two other sons of Bukka. They were Kampana and Saṅgama. These three were born to queen Devāyī just as moon, pārijāta and cintāmaṇi sprang forth from the milky ocean.<sup>27</sup>

With his three sons the king shone like Lord Śiva with his three eyes. They were just like three unfailing aspects of the statemanship, namely power(prabhāva), daring(utsāha) and counsel(mantra) or life's three ends, viz virtue(dharma), wealth(artha) and enjoyment(kāma).<sup>28</sup>

After the second canto, the poet did not give any further information about the two brothers of Kampana. However, from the inscriptions, we learn that Bukka had sons other than those three.

According to N. Venkataramanayya, Bukka appointed his sons as the governors of different provinces and made them responsible for the maintenance of the royal authority. Bhāskarabhavadūra became the governor of Udayagiri, Kumāra Kampana(hero of the Madhurāvijaya) of Mulbagal and Padaivīḍu, Virūpana at first of Penugonḍa and later of Araga and Chikka-Kampana, Mallapa and Harihara of Hoyasala territories.<sup>29</sup>

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27. MV, II. 40.

28. Ibid, II. 42.

29. HCIP, Vol. Vi, p. 277.

Gaṅgā Devī does not mention these brothers because her whole poem was concentrated on the heroic deeds of Kampana. In the second canto, the poet describes each and every small action of the hero until he was three years old. In the third canto she describes his education. He became proficient in all the arts and sciences without any extra help.

Bukka himself trained him in military science. He became a skilled master not only in using bow and arrow and sword but also in the use of miraculous weapons.<sup>30</sup>

His physical beauty and qualities are also described vividly. All his bodily signs foretell that in future he would become a great ruler of Vijayanagara kingdom.

When he reached adulthood, Bukka got him married to several princesses. Of these one princess was particularly dear to him just as Śacī was dear to Indra, Rāmā to Viṣṇu and Sati to Śiva. Unfortunately this stanza (III. 18) is incomplete:

śacīva śakraśya rameva sāṅginah  
sativa sambhoḥ.....

It is possible that the missing portion contains the name of Gaṅgā Devī herself.

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30. MV, III. 2.

After his marriage he enjoyed his life with his beautiful wives for sometime. Then one day, Bukka instructed him in a significant speech to destroy Camparāya of Kanchi as a first step to his conquest of Madurai from the Sultan.<sup>31</sup>

To encourage him for this historical event, Bukka took off his valuable ornaments from his body and decorated his son.<sup>32</sup> It shows that Kampana will be the heir-apparent of Bukka. Not only this, Kampana ordered his generals to get the army ready for the conquest of Kanchi and Madurai.

His throbbing right hand foretold the forthcoming victory in the battlefield. Brahmins chanted the Atharva veda for his victory and gave blessings to him. This also shows that he was the eldest among other sons of Bukka.

Though Gaṅgā Devī does not mention it, there is the evidence of inscriptions to say that Kampana was a provincial governor of different parts of south India from 1352 to 1374 A.D. The first inscription shows that

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31. MV, III. 21-43.

32. Ibid, III. 45.

Kampana was ruling in North Arcot district on 24-9-1352 A.D.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly another inscription proves that Kampana was ruling over eastren Mysore from his capital at Mulbagal in 1361-62 A.d. In Madhurāvijaya, Gaṅgā Devī mentions this Mulbagal as Kantakānanapattana.<sup>34</sup>

Thus when Kampana set out to conquer Kanchi and Madurai, he was already a governor of a large tract of land in Karnataka.

#### 5. Campaign to Kanchi

After giving a discourse on rājanīti to his son Kampana, king Bukka ordered him to march forward to Tuṇḍīramanḍala or Tonḍaimanḍalam and defeat Campa etc., who are preparing for war.<sup>35</sup>

The king gave this advice because for the conquest on Madurai it will be the first step to defeat Camparāya. To go to Madurai, they must go through Tonḍaimanḍalam only. At that time Camparāya or Sambuvarāya was ruling the Tonḍaimanḍalam from his capital Kanchi. He established a strong kingdom in Tamil country, between Vijayanagara kingdom and Madurai Sultanate. In Bukka's opinion, the

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33. Robert Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 192.

34. MV, IV. 47.

35. Ibid, IV. 67.

destruction of Camparāya's rule in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam must be considered as a prelude to the invasion of Madurai.

In the fourth canto, the poet gave a detailed description of the war against Camparāya, the then ruler of the Tuṇḍiramaṇḍala. This Tuṇḍiramaṇḍala encompassed the entire districts of North Arcot, Chengalput and a part of South Arcot.

Kampana started his victorious campaign at an auspicious hour with the blessings of the brahmins. The Cola, Kerala, and Pāṇḍya kings accompanied him. The mighty forces of elephants, horses, and the infantry followed prince Kamapana.

After crossing the Karṇāṭa country in five or six days, Kampana reached Kanṭakānanapaṭṭaṇa with his forces and camped there for some time. Then he marched forward and halted at Viriñcinagara. This Viriñcinagara was situated eight miles west of Vellor. Dugdhavāhinī (river Pāleru) is flowing on its side. Kampana stayed with his armies and prepared well for the battle against the Tamil king. Kampana started to attack the town of Tamil king. The Karṇāṭaka and Tamil forces fought very bravely in the battle, where the Karṇāṭaka forces defeated the Tamil army. Camparāya left the city of Kanchi and took refuge in his fortress Rājagambhīra.

After this first victory over the enemy, Kampana occupied the city of Kanchi. Kampana stayed there for sometime for preparation of their final attack on Camparāya.

The Karṇāṭa forces attacked the hill fort of Rājagambhira of Camparāya. Kampana's army succeeded in climbing up the hill fort and blocked completely all the exits of the fort.<sup>36</sup>

At last, king Campa came out of his palace. Kampana and Campa fought a duel with swords. Kampana cut off the head of Camparāya. By killing the Dravida king Kampana fulfilled his father's desire. He ruled from Kanchi as his second capital.

Here Gaṅgā Devī gave an interesting description of the battle, fought on a hill fort, and the methods adopted for occupying the enemy forts. The poet mentioned Kampana's three-fold army consisting of elphantry, cavalry and infantry. In those times, to prevent the climbing of the fort walls by the enemy forces, the defending army used to throw large stones by means of catapults.<sup>37</sup> To make the enemy suffer, they used to block all the exits and set fire to the houses with missiles.

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36. MV, IV. 74, 76.

37. Ibid, IV. 72:

agre nipetur nṛpater grāvāṇo yantraṇicyutāh/  
durgeṇātaradanārtham dūtās saṃpreṣitā iva//

The forces used to climb the mountain walls by means of rows of lances planted as ladders.<sup>38</sup> Duel sword fighting was common in those days.

The conquest of Kanchi and the incorporation of Tamil country into the kingdom of Vijayanagara must have taken place in 1361 A.D. By 1364 A.D. Kampana was in full control of the Tamil country. Several inscriptions state that he reinstated worship in Rajasimhesvara temple of Kanchi and restored its lands.<sup>39</sup>

#### 6. Campaign to Madurai

After the conquest of Kanchi, Kampana established a powerful rule there. Here Gaṅgā Devī mentions Kanchi as Marakatamahāpura. In the fifth and sixth and seventh cantos the poet described the private life of Kampana. It shows that his rule was popular, peaceful and prosperous and that his subjects thought that he was another incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu.

When he started his campaign against Madurai he got the fullest support of the people of Tamil Country. It took nearly ten years for the preparation of the attack on Madurai.

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38. MV, 74:

vinyasta-kuntaniśrenī-śrenibhir vīrapuṅgavaiḥ /  
ākṛāntasālasṛṅgāgrair āruhyata mahādharaḥ //

39. Robert Sewell, The Historical Inscriptions of-Southern India, p. 196.

To justify the invasion of Madurai, Gaṅgā Devī introduces a dream motif in the eighth canto. One night when Kampana was asleep, a mysterious lady appeared in front of him and tells him the miseries she faced under the Muslim rule. This lady was Madurai herself. Through this lady's mouth, Gaṅgā Devī skilfully presents the real and miserable conditions of the south Indian people who were oppressed by the cruel Muslim rulers. This canto has historical significance because of the information given by the poet. She describes the pitiable condition of the famous temples at Chidambaram(called Vyāghrapurī) and Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam. Along with temples, brahmins were also oppressed greatly. After describing all the miseries, Madhurā Devī, the presiding deity of Madurai presented a mighty sword to Kampana in order to destroy the Sultan of Madurai and protect dharma. After presenting the sword, the lady disappears.

After the eighth canto, some ten leaves are missing in the manuscript. In the available portion of the poem very little historical information is given by Gaṅgā Devī. when and from where Kampana started his campaign and how much time he spent to reach Madurai, these informations are not available in this poem.

The last canto starts with the battle scene. The Kaṇṇāṭa army and the Sultan's forces had a tough fight.



Of the weapons used, Gaṅgā Devī mentions arrows of different shapes and swords. Before the superior fighting power of Kampana's army, the Sultan's forces began to flee. Then the Sultan himself came out challenging Kampana to a duel fight. As real hero, Kampana appreciates the enemy's bravery who had by his valour already defeated the Cola and Pāndya kings.

Here the poet mentions that the Sultan had the crow banner. In the fight Kampana cut off the enemy's banner, and his bow-string. Then Kampana and the Sultan started fighting with swords. Kampana drew out the powerful sword presented by the goddess of Madurai, and with it cut off the head of the Sultan. Even after the head was cut off, the brave Sultan's trunk on the horse back still held the reins in one hand while the other hand was ready to fight with the enemy. This was greatly appreciated by Kampana. For his great skill in war and bravery Kampana gave rich tributes to the Sultan.

Thus Kampana by killing the Sultan of Madurai in the battle got the entire south India under Vijayanagara kingdom. He guaranteed the safety of the remaining forces of the enemy. He became the ruler of Madurai with happiness and glory.

With this historical victory over Madurai, the poem comes to an end.

Gurty Venkat Rao states that Kampana in his southern expedition, with the help of his minister Gopana, and his general, Sālva Mangu overthrew the Saṃbuvarāya, and killed one of the Sultans of Madurai. He reinstalled the idols of gods in Rājasimheśvara temple at Kanchi in 1364 A.D. and Srirangam in 1371 A.D.<sup>40</sup>

Supporting the above view, N. Venkataramanayya states that after the establishment of Kanchi as his capital, Kampana campaigned against Madurai and killed its Sultan Kurabath Hassan Kang in a battle and got control of the Muslim kingdom of Mabbar.<sup>41</sup>

Thus with this victory the entire south India was brought under the supremacy of Vijayanagara kingdom by Kampana. Since 1352 A.D. when he was appointed as the governor of Mulbagal by his father till his death (according to some scholars) in 1374 A.D. Kampana ruled over the region for nearly twentytwo years.

There fore it is no exaggeration to say that Kampana played a major role in establishing a mighty Hindu kingdom against Muslim invaders. He was one of the most responsible persons for the future glory of the Vijayanagara kingdom.

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40. A comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 1045.

41. MV-PS, " Historical Background" in English, p. 6.

In the Madhurāvijaya, Gaṅgā Devī does not mention any generals of Kampana. But with the help of inscriptions we come to know that Kampana conquered Kanchi and Maḍurai with the help of his able generals. Among those Gopana, Sālva Mangu, Somappa Daṇḍanāyaka, Gandarguli Mārayanāyaka were famous. Every general had their individual inscriptions to show that Kampana II was their king.

Similarly from inscriptions we learn about Kampana's children. Some inscriptions of 1365 A.D. show that Kampana along with his son was ruling some parts of his kingdom.

In other inscription the name of Kampana's son was given as Jommana or Jammana. He was ruling at Chengalput in 1369 A.D.

A record of 1374 A.D. mentions Jammana as the chief ruler at Tirumalai, presumably after Kampana's death.<sup>42</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī does not mention this son. Perhaps he is the son of another wife of Kampana.

In the inscriptions after 1374 A.D., there is no mention of Kampana. Therefore, it is assumed that Kampana died sometime before eleventh December, 1374 A.D.<sup>43</sup> His father King Bukka was alive until 1377 A.D. After his death he was succeeded by another son Harihara II.

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42. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 199.

43. Ibid,

In his edition of the Madhurāvijaya, Potukucchi Subrahmaṇya Sāstri tries to identify Harihara II with Kampana. He says that, after he became the king, Kampana changed his name to Harihara II. But we know from the Madhurāvijaya, that Kampana's mother was called Devāyī.<sup>44</sup> The mother of Harihara II was another queen of Bukka by name Gaurī, according to the inscriptions.<sup>45</sup> Sastri tries to argue that Gauri is another name of Devāyī.<sup>46</sup> However, other names also differ. Kampana's queen was Gaṅgā Devī, whereas the queen of Harihara II was Mātāmbikā.<sup>47</sup> We have already mentioned that Kampana's son was Jammaṇa. Harihara II was succeeded by his son Devarāya.<sup>48</sup>

Therefore, it has to be concluded that Kampana died in 1374 A.D. during the lifetime of his father, and that Bukka was succeeded by another son Harihara II.<sup>49</sup>

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44. MV, I. 73. .

45. "Nallur Grant of Harihara II", Epigraphia Indica, III (1894-95), p. 121, lines 29-31.

46. MV-Ps, Introduction, p. 12.

47. " Nallur Grant of Harihara II", Epigraphia Indica, III, (1894-95), p. 115.

48. Ibid,

49. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 201.

In conclusion, it must be said that in her treatment of historical material, Gaṅgā Devī was selective. Her aim was not to write a detailed history but a poem in the tradition of Sanskrit Mahākāvyas. Therefore, she chose only such events which emphasise the central role of Kampana, the hero of the poem. While doing so, she was faithful to history; she never altered facts to suit the glory of Kampana. Her portrayal of Kampana and her descriptions of his major activities, find support in inscriptions.

## C H A P T E R IV

## STATE AND SOCIETY DEPICTED IN THE MADHURĀVIJAYA

## A. STATE

## 1. King

The Madhurāvijaya is **based** on a historical theme. Therefore, the poet Gaṅgā Devī gives a detailed account about the State and society of her time. This account is extremely valuable, especially because it is written by a lady of the royal family.

The poem starts with the description of King Bukka, who is the father of the hero Kampāna. Gaṅgā Devī depicts Bukka as a great warrior, a great hero, and as a great protector of Hindu dharma. Sanskrit texts on polity attribute divineness to the king. Following this belief, Gaṅgā Devī compares Bukka to various gods like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra, and Varuṇa.

She says that the tree of dharma which became dry by the unbearable heat of this kaliyuga sprouted again by the water that flowed from his hands when he was making gifts.<sup>1</sup>

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1. MV, I. 37.

The poet compares Bukka to Viṣṇu, to the great Himālaya. and Ādiśeṣa, and says that he is the best of all the kings.<sup>2</sup> He is brighter than the Sun, cooler than the Moon, deeper than the ocean and steadier than Sumeru.<sup>3</sup> He is Indra, Varuna, Kubera, Yama in one.<sup>4</sup>

Through his peaceful and prosperous reign, goddess Lakṣmī forgot her husband Viṣṇu.<sup>5</sup> His people respected him as if Manu himself was reborn as Bukka.<sup>6</sup> He ruled his kingdom from Vijaya like Indra from Amarāvati.<sup>7</sup> The king was more prosperous than Duryodhana.<sup>8</sup>

As strict follower of Hindu dharma he performs all rituals according to the dharmaśāstras. He performs the worship of Sandhya which is a compulsory daily ritual for a king.

During the pregnancy of his queen Devāyī, Bukka celebrated the rite of Pumsavana. This rite was performed according to the orders of his chief preceptor.<sup>9</sup>

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2. MV, I. 27.

3. Ibid, I. 28.

4. Ibid, I. 30.

5. Ibid, I. 36.

6. Ibid, I. 68.

7. Ibid, I. 67.

8. Ibid, I. 42.

9. Ibid, II. 13.

After hearing the happy news of the prince's birth , he duly bathed and dressed in white silk, and distributed immense gifts to Brahmanas. On an auspicious day the jātakarma ceremony was performed by Bukka for his royal child.<sup>10</sup> Then Bukka celebrated the rite of nāmakarana by naming his child Kampana because he clearly foresaw in his mind that in the near future his son would become a brave warrior and was sure to make his enemies in battle field tremble with fear.<sup>11</sup> The cūdākarma, the tonsure ceremony, was also performed by the king for his son at the appropriate time.<sup>12</sup>

Thus the poet depicts Bukka as an ideal king who upholds dharma. Because he has an element of divineness in him, Bukka can conquer all his enemies single-handed, without any assistance from anybody. In a clear imitation of Kālidāsa, Gaṅgā Devī says that for Bukka, his own intellect is the minister, his own bow is the army, and his own arms are the body guards.<sup>13</sup>

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10. MV, II. 33.

11. Ibid, II. 34.

12. Ibid, III. 1.

13. MV, I. 29:

vivekam eva sacivaṃ dhanur eva varūdhinīm /  
bāhum eva raṇotsāhe yah sahāyam amanyata //

Cf. Raghuvaṃśa, II. 4:

na cānyatas tasya śarīrarakṣā  
svavīryaguptā hi manoḥ prasūtiḥ //



expert in horsemanship like Nakula and skilled in sword-manship like Śhaḍeva. Thus it looked as though all the five Pandavas were united in him.<sup>17</sup> Kampana was married in his early youth to several princesses.

At an appropriate time, Bukka gives a discourse to Kampana and commands him to destroy the Tamil king Camparāya as prelude to his conquest of Madurai. He encourages his son for war against enemies and tells him the importance of protection of the Hindu dharma.<sup>18</sup>

Following the advice, Kampana conquered the kingdom of Kanchi and Madurai and set up there a just rule.<sup>19</sup>

Vijayanagara rulers were famous as patrons of poets, culture, sculpture etc. Specially here prince Kampana was also depicted as a great lover of the compositions

17. MV, III. 3:

sa satyavāg bhūribalo dhanurdharas  
turaṅgamārohaṇakarmamarmavit/  
kṛpāṇavidyānīpuṇaḥ pṛ<sup>t</sup>hābhuvām  
adarśī saṃghāta ivaikatām gataḥ //

18. MV, III. 20-43.

19. MV, V. 1-10.

## 2. Yuvarāja

It was believed that, on the body of a prince who will become a great monarch in future, some particular marks were visible. In Buddhist literature the characteristics of a maḥāpuruṣa consist of thirtytwo major and eighty minor lakṣaṇas.<sup>14</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī also describes some auspicious signs on prince Kampana's body. His two gracefully shaped feet bore auspicious marks of conch, disc, umbrella, lotus, banner, and fish. He also bore the hairy sign of śrīvatsa on his breast. Which suggests that he was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. His forehead shone with a circle of hair between the eye-brows (ūrṇā).<sup>15</sup>

At the right age, the prince learnt all the arts by himself, but was trained in military science by his father Bukka.<sup>16</sup> He became a skilled master in wielding the bow, the sword and in the use of all miraculous weapons. After learning all needful education for a prince, Kampana became a proficient man. He was truthful like Yudhiṣṭhira, immensely strong like Bhīma, a great archer like Arjuna,

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14. D. Sridhara Babu, Kingship: State and Religion in South India, p. 44.

15. MV, II. 28-30.

16. MV, III. 1-2-

of good poets in his court. He was also an expert in music specially in Vīṇā and in dance. Hunting was also a hobby for Kampana.

In this poem, as Sridhara Baby says, the poet did not give any special attention about the education of the prince in the science of politics and administration.<sup>20</sup> She was more concerned about the prince's military training.

### 3. Ideals of Kingship

When Kampana completed his education and military training, Bukka gives a long discourse on rājanīti. This discourse is comparable to Śukanāsa's advice to Candrāpīḍa in Bāṇa's Kādambarī. This discourse shows Gaṅgā Devī's profound knowledge of rājanīti and also the contemporary ideals of kingship.

In his advice Bukka stresses the wonders of the teacher's advice. He says that darkness always infests the youthful age and wise men have found out that only the lamp of intelligence lighted by the proper advice by a guru is able to dispel that darkness.<sup>21</sup> Wisemen consider instruction imparted by a guru as a jewelled ear-ring, a potent ointment without colour, and a wonderful form of penance involving no self-mortification.<sup>22</sup>

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20. D. Sridhara Babu, Kingship: State and Religion in South India, p. 68.

21. MV, III. 21.      22. Ibid, III, 22.

He later explains the dangerous results of intoxication. Like a starless night, youth also has the darkness of intoxication. It marks the triumph of passion and is a bad period of life not easily overcome by one in embowered state.<sup>23</sup> The tree of life not egotism puts forth its shoots, it dries up the spring of mercy. The dawning of youth is really the vanishing of light from the intellect.<sup>24</sup> The lack of knowledge in nyaya and āgama in youth is the cause which blinds the rulers and makes them spend their prosperity in their own way. It leads them towards their ruin.<sup>25</sup> Women are the abode of all weaknesses. Gambling is also a very dangerous habit where the gambler loses everything. Hunting is also an intoxicating habit for rulers. One should not hunt wild animals without cause. For a king it is very easy getting into the habit of drinking. It is a bad habit for a good ruler to burst<sup>s</sup> into harsh words even when he does good works to his subjects. Subjects are the wealth for the king. So he should not give brutal punishments to them. The king should always be very generous in giving large sums for the upkeep of dharma.<sup>26</sup>

A king must be jitendriya. Bukka goes on to say that Kampana should always keep away from vices and act always

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23. MV, III. 24.

24. Ibid, III. 25.

25. Ibid, III. 26.

26. Ibid, III. 27-33.

in a proper manner. He should think everything carefully and deeply and act in such a way that the goddess of prosperity, notoriously for her instability, does not turn away from him even for a moment.<sup>27</sup> Lastly, Bukka asks his son to exhibit his manliness and ever increasing valour and strike at his enemies and destroy them, as Indra in the cause of winged mountains.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4. War-fare

##### i. Army:

At that time the Vijayanagara army had three divisions. There were elephants (gaja), horses (aśva) and infantry (padāti) suitably covered and dressed; elephants with jewelled cloaks on their backs, horses fully caparisoned and men protected their mailed coats.<sup>29</sup> Sridhara Babu states that the Vijayanagara army consisted of six divisions: horses, camels, elephants, artillery, bulls and foot-soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Chandra Prabha errs when she says, Vijayanagara army consists of four parts-infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots,<sup>31</sup> because chariots were not used any more at that time.

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27. MV, III. 37.

28. Ibid, III. 40.

29. MV, IV. 7:

ābaddhakuśhamātāṅgam āttaparyāṇasaindhavam /

saṁvarmitabhaṭam sadyaḥ samanahyata tadbalaṁ //

30. D. Sridhara Babu, Kingship; State and Religion in South India, p. 100.

### ii. weapons:

In the war the foot soldiers used different types of arms. Swords (khaḍga, IV. 57, 82; kṛpāṇa, IV. 59, 77; IX. 4, 5, 9; asi, IX. 10, kauṣṭheyaka, IX. 13, 35; churikā-IX. 19; karavāla, IX. 36; taravāri, IX. 37), mace (mūḍgara, IX. 20), lances (kunta, IV. 74; IX. 12), and bows (sāraṇa, IX. 23, 26) were used in battle field. Half-moon shaped arrows (śaśāṅkāṛtha mukhaiḥ, IX. 3), Javelines (tomara, IX. 10). These arms were used during Kanchi's and Madurai campaigns by prince Kampana's army.

### iii. Flags:

The kings of different dynasties or regions had their own emblems and flags. The seal of Vijayanagara kings had the figure of the bear. In the Madhurāvijaya, Kingā Devī does not mention the emblem or the flag. She simply says flags (dhvajās, IV. 15). In the concluding canto, the poet describes the Yavana flag as the crow banner. They used to hoist these flags on the top of the castles (IV. 69).

### iv. Battle:

In the battle field the two armies used to fight with the respective divisions. Foot-soldiers fought with foot-soldiers, elephants with elephants, horses with horses. Soldiers used swords and bows with different shapes of arrows. For protection from enemies, the rulers used to build strong forts on hill tops (durga). Thus enemy king Camparāya also had sought asylum to the hill-fortress named Rājagaubhira.<sup>32</sup> Big stones were thrown down with

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31. Historical Mahākāvya in Sanskrit, p. 340.

32. MV, IV. 67.

catapults to destroy the enemy forces in a large number.<sup>33</sup> The heroic enemy forces used to climb the hill-fort by means of lances planted as ladders.<sup>34</sup> They used many methods to block all ways and torture the enemy's forces.<sup>35</sup> The two kings had great skill in sword fighting.

#### v. Bravery:

The fourth and the concluding cantos of the Alahurvijaya contain detailed description of bravery shown by the kings and the soldiers of both forces. The poet is successful in presenting every minute incident in a skillful manner. She presents the scenario of fearful battle field in a colourful way.

First, the battle at paḍaivīḍu, the strong hold of Camparāya, and his defeat was described. Here the might, forces of these two armies were compared to two oceans brought against each other with strong stormy winds.<sup>36</sup>

The sharp pointed arrows pierced the archers and made them fall down on the battle field.<sup>37</sup> The brave warriors waving the blood-stained swords in their hands

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33. MV, IV. 72.

34. Ibid, IV. 74.

35. Ibid, IV. 76.

36. Ibid, IV. 52.

37. Ibid, IV. 56.

are just like the lolling tongue of ~~Yama~~.<sup>38</sup> The enemy arrows sent the brave fighters directly to heaven.<sup>39</sup> In front of the mighty forces of Kampana the Tamil forces started fleeing. Then Kampana occupied Camparāya's town and began to attack the hill fortress of the Tamil king, Rājaganbhira, in which the enemy had sought asylum.<sup>40</sup> Terrible sounds of his war-drums echoed in every cave of the hill.<sup>41</sup>

Again a fearsome battle started between these two forces. Heads cut off by arrows fell down from the ramparts looked like balls belonging to the Deity of War (raṇasrī-kandukāḥ) for her play.<sup>42</sup> King Camparāya who came out in great anger with his sword drawn looked like a fearsome snake with its lolling tongue coming out of a mole hill.<sup>43</sup> Kampana preferred to directly fight with Campa as the lion attacks the elephant.<sup>44</sup> These two courageous heroes had a frightful duel-fight where Kampana despatched Camparāya as a guest to Indra's city.<sup>45</sup>

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38. MV, IV. 57.

39. Ibid, IV. 61.

40. Ibid, IV. 67.

41. Ibid, IV. 68.

42. Ibid, IV. 71.

43. Ibid, IV. 77: kṛpāṇapāṇir vēlāikāḥ jinvāl iva jihvāḥ.

44. Ibid, IV. 78: pratyagrahīn mahīpālas campaṇ siṃha iva dvīpam.

45. Ibid, IV. 82.



In the final canto, Kampana's campaign to Madurai and his glorious victory are presented. In this canto also bravery played a major role. Some verses are missing in this canto the remaining part is full of battle field descriptions. Especially the fights with elephants and horses are <sup>very</sup> interesting.

With their half-moon shaped arrows, the archers cut off the hands of elephant riders.<sup>46</sup> The following stanza describes the bravery of a fighting elephant. A certain elephant seized a soldier by foot and threw him up and wanted to smash him and his sword with his pair of tusks and trunk.<sup>47</sup>

A certain warrior was struck with a lance by his foe, with the same lance the wounded warrior struck the enemy and wounded him.<sup>48</sup> Two soldiers, in a single combat cut off each other's head after a long fight with their swords. After leaving their bodies, they went up together as close friends to celestial regions.<sup>49</sup>

With more vigour the poet describes the valour of Kampana. He and his sword are so powerful that with one blow of his sword he cut both the elephant and its rider.<sup>50</sup>

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47. MV, IX. 9: kareṇa kañcit padayor grahitvā

kṣiptaṃ daviyo viyati dvipendroḥ /

patanta māchinnakṛāṇa<sup>b</sup> aṣṭiḥ

pratyaicchadūccair daśanadvayena //

46. MV, IX. 3.

At another place the prince used javelins to smash the heads of the elephants, and pearls came out from their globes.<sup>51</sup> Kampana struck with his mace(mudgara) the turbaned heads of his enemies which sank down in their bowies.<sup>52</sup>

Exaggerating Kampana's bravery in the battle field, the poet says that sage Nārada became so happy to see his valour because even Parasurāma, Rāma, Shīma, or Arjuna could not provide such an entertainment at the battle field.<sup>53</sup>

Subsequently, the poet gives similar importance to the bravery of the enemy king in the battle field. As Vṛtra met Indra, the Yavana king met Kampana in a single combat.<sup>54</sup>

The Yavana king looks so fearsome, but the brave Kampana was delighted to have an opponent like the Sultan who had by his heroism defeated the Colas and Pāṇḍyas and destroyed the wealth of Vīra Ballāla.<sup>55</sup>

48. MV, IX. 12.

55. MV, IX. 27:

49. Ibid, IX. 13.

parākramādhahkṛatacolapāṇḍyaṃ

50. Ibid, IX. 16.

vallālasampallatikākūṭhāraṃ /

51. Ibid, IX. 18.

raṇonmukhaṃ kampanarūpo 'bhāṇandīd

52. Ibid, IX. 20

vīraḥ suratrāṇaṃ udagraśauryaḥ //

53. Ibid, IX. 22.

54. Ibid, IX. 23.

These two proud heros had a tough fight with bow and arrows. Kampana succeeded in destroying the crow banner of the Yavana king first, then he cut down the bow-string of the Sultan.<sup>56</sup> With great anger the Sultan threw away his bow and drew out his terrible sword. Kampana was also armed with a gifted sword which was sent by sage Āgastya and looked terrible like Yama himself.<sup>57</sup> Seated on the back of his swift horse, Kampana, the glory of Kārnāṭa race, avoiding the blow of the Yavana's sword, cut off the head of the enemy in one instant.

#### vi. Chivalary:

Appreciating the good qualities and valour of the enemy is a virtue of an ideal king. Accordingly, the poet at some places glorifies the enemy's bravery.

The angry Tamil King Caṇḍarāya was described as a terrible snake with its lolling tongue.<sup>58</sup> As the Yavana king rode on his swift horse, his jewelled tuft shone like wreath of his smoking anger which was about to blaze.<sup>59</sup>

56. MV, IX. 32-33.

57. Ibid, IX. 35.

58. Ibid, IV. 77:

krpāṇa pāṇir valmikāḥ jihvala iva jihvaḥ /

59. Ibid, IX. 25:

amarṣavāhner jvalanmukhasys

dhūmacchāṭva sphuritasphulingā //

Kampana was delighted by the bravery of the Sultan, who defeated Cola, Pāṇḍya kings and destroyed the wealth of Ballāla.<sup>60</sup> Between Kampana and the Sultan, there took place a fierce battle, and finally Kampana cut off the enemy's head. But even after the head was cut off from the body, the trunk of the Sultan on the horse back still held the reins and controlled the horse's course with one hand, while the other was up-lifted to return the blow of the enemy. Kampana was impressed by his bravery and commended it:

cyute 'pi śīrṣe calitāśvavalgā  
 niyantraṇavyāpṛtavāmapāṇim /  
 pratiprahāraprasṛtānyahastam  
 vīraḥ kabandham dviṣato 'bhyanandīt //<sup>61</sup>

The head of the Sultan which was cut off by Kampana and which fell on the battle ground is praised as the one that never knew the art of flattering, never bowed down even to gods, and that had been consecrated to the empire of the Turuṣkās.<sup>62</sup>

Thus the poet glorifies the bravery of enemy in most beautiful way.

61. MV, IX. 27

62. Ibid, IX. 39.

63. Ibid, IX.38: ajñātasevocitacāṭuvādam  
 tuluṣkasāmrājyakṛtābhiṣekam /  
 divaukasam apy akṛtapraṇāman  
 bhū<sup>m</sup>au suratṛaṇasīraḥ papāta //

## B. S O C I E T Y

## 1. Caste-system

According to the Dharmaśāstras, Hindu society consists of four major castes. They are Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. In the Madhurāvijaya, the poet gives importance only to the upper castes, the brāhmaṇas and the kṣatriyas. These two classes always played a major role in the society. To Encourage the activities of the brāhmaṇas, who preserved the Hindu social order for a long time, and to protect them is one of the major duties of a king. According to Dharmaśāstras the performance of sacrifices for themselves and for the society is the first duty of a brāhmaṇa.

**Brahmins:-** During the Vijayanagara period Brahmins got a very respectable position in the society. They were respected by the other three castes. The highest post in King's court is Kulaguru which was always held by a Brahmin. For the welfare of the king and the people they always perform yajñas etc., along with their daily sacrifices. The Purohita performs the necessary rituals from time to time for the welfare of the king. For example, he performs the pumsavana, jātakarma, nāmakarṇa, caulakarma at correct time. They used to give their blessings before the king's departure for military campaign.

At the same time under the rule of Muslims, the same Brahmins suffered a lot. Their tragedies and their sufferings were presented in a pathetic way by a mysterious lady to Kamapana in eighth canto of this poem.

Kṣatriyas:- Most probably the ruling class always belonged to the Kṣatriya caste. So the hero of this poem was also a kṣ<sup>a</sup>triya, having all the qualities of a dhirodāttanāyaka.

According to Dharmaśāstras, a king's first duty is to protect varṇa (caste) and āśrama dharmas. The Vijayanagara rulers were famous for their uplifting and encouraging of vedas and bhāṣya commentaries. By this great service they protected a large part of Vedic literature from loss. In this Mahākāvya, the poet depicts the kings as the protectors of Hindu Dharma. By his victorious campaigns Kampana established a peaceful rule in those regions.

The kings were all trained in all śāstras as well as military science. The kṣatriyas were depicted as strict followers of Hindu Dharma, worshipping the sandhyā thrice daily. Kampana was depicted in the fifth canto as peaceful ruler, interesting in dance, music, hunting and as a patron of poets.

The poet did not mention any other castes. Yet she introduces minister, cāraṇas (II. 21), messengers (II. 22),

attendants(III. 47), general(IV. 2), bhaṭas(IV. 7), vassals, spies(V. 4), beautiful maid servants, farmers(karṣaka VII. 29), milk maiden(gopavadhu V. 48) etc.

## 2. Cities

### i. The Capital City: Vijayanagara;

*The beautiful capital city of Vijayanagara empire was Vijayanagara. In her poem Gaṅgā Devī gives a detailed description of the capital. She mentions it as Vijaya<sup>63</sup> and Vijayāpura.<sup>64</sup>*

King Bukka augmented his riches by conquest, had the famous Vijayanagara as his capital with all its riches and beauty. It was compared to Indra's Amarāvati by scholars. The river Tungabhadra encircles the city. It was surrounded by defensive broadtopped walls on all sides. The city was encircled by pleasure-hillocks, lakes and highly built white palaces. The city was so beautiful that it looks like the mark of fashion and loveliness adorning the forehead of the lady known as Earth's Southern quarter.<sup>65</sup>

It was full of <sup>virtuous</sup> Brahmins and musicians, and the most prosperous city of all fortunes. The city's buildings were so high that frequently at night time when beautiful

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63. MV, I. 43.

64. Ibid, I. 75.

65. Ibid, I. 51: dakṣiṇāsa-rojāksī-phālālīlālālātikā.

young ladies playing on the grounds of the top floor of the palaces often stretch their hands to the moon mistaking it as their play-ball of pearls. The city had beautiful maidens.<sup>66</sup>

Pampa was the suburb (śākhānagara) of Vijayanagara. Many wealthy men lived there and God Virūpākṣa's temple is also situated there.

#### ii. Kanchi:

Kanchi was the capital city of Tuṇḍīraṁḍala. According to Gaṅgā Devī, it was a prosperous city. During his expedition to Tuṇḍīraṁḍala, Kampana killed Camparāya in the battle and conquered Tuṇḍīraṁḍala. Kampana installed himself as Governor of his father, King Bukka. His administration presented a good government at Kanchi. He made Kanchi as the second capital of their empire. Here the poet Gaṅgā Devī says that Kanchi had also another name Marakatanagara.<sup>67</sup>

#### iii. Madurai:

Geographically Madurai belongs to the region of Coramandal coast of India. The Pandyas who established their supremacy on the south after the Colas, made Madurai their capital.<sup>68</sup>

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66. MV, I. 61-65.

67. MV, V. 1:

adha sa tatra mahāitalaṁḍane marakatahvayabhāji mahāpure /

68. MV-T, Introduction, p. 35.



After the occupation by the Muslim rulers the condition of Madurai became worse. Goddess Mīnākṣī's<sup>69</sup> temple is situated there.

The presiding deity of Madurai appears in a dream of Kampana, she laments over the pathetic state of the city, and requests him to free her from the oppressive occupation. She presents a sword to Kampana.

### 3. Temples

Troubles started for South India with the expedition of Malik Kafur in 1323 A.D., and ended after fortyeight years in 1371 A.D.<sup>70</sup> The sufferings of the subjects during this period have been described by both Hindu and Muslim historians. There are more similarities between the frightful accounts of Ibn Baṭūṭa the Moorish traveller and the Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī.<sup>71</sup> Inscriptions also refer to the same facts. In her narration the poet mentions many temples and their plight. We should accept these accounts because here Gaṅgā Devī narrates these details with her personal knowledge and experience. Hence, these are more trustworthy than the writings of travellers from foreign countries.

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69. MV, VIII canto.

70. MV-T, Introduction, p. 41.

71. MV. VIII Canto.

Gaṅgā Devī narrates that, true to its name, Vyāghrapurī (Cidambaram) has become the abode of tigers due to the Muslim occupation and their terrible, cruel behaviour towards Hindu subjects. In terror the people vacated Cidambaram.<sup>72</sup>

The famous temple of Śrīraṅganāyaka at Śrīraṅgam was also in a bad condition of debris of bricks. Other temples also have the same miserable conditions. The closed doors of the temples are eaten up by white-ants, the inner parts of the temples are full of wild growth. Those temples which echoed with the sweet sounds of mṛdaṅga drums, are now resounding with terrible cries of jackals.<sup>73</sup>

Madurai and Draviḍa brahmins are the most suffered ones during the Muslim regime. The streets in Brahmin quarters, where, once the sacrificial smoke rose and the chanting of the Vedas vibrated, are now full of smells of hatred odour of meat and unbearable sounds of drunken Turuṣkas. The groves of Madurai are in a very bad condition. The cocoanut trees have all been cut and replaced by rows of iron spikes. At their pointed tips the human heads are hanging.<sup>74</sup>

72. MV. VIII. 1.

73. Ibid, VIII. 5.

74. Ibid, VIII. 8.

#### 4. Women

##### i. Dress and Ornaments:

The study of Madhurāvijaya brings out the information of fourteenth century people, society, their culture etc. into lime light. Whereever necessary, Gaṅgā Devī gave sufficient information on those matters.

The city's women were so beautiful with their lotus like faces, 'that the moon hiself was ashamed. They walk gracefully. They cover their blooming breasts with slender blouses; They have curly hair and thin waists. At night women used to wear white sarees of silk.<sup>75</sup>

The women used to decorate their bodies with jewelled girdles, jewelled anklets, golden bangles, different types of necklaces, armlets, laṭṭikās etc. These were some of the ornaments worn by the ladies of Gaṅgā Devī's time.<sup>76</sup>

##### ii. Makeup:

They brightened their lips with dark red colour. To beautify their eyes they put añjana. They decorate their

75. MV, VII. 46:

śaśimaṇḍala-śaṅkha-petaḥkād  
avakṛṣya kṣapayā samarpitam /  
kumudacchavi-kaumudīmayam  
dadhatī kṣaumam abhād-digaṅganā //

76. MV, V, VI cantos.

foreheads with different types of tilakas. Their nails were also shining with radiant brilliance. In summer, the women used to apply sandal paste to their breasts. In winter, however, they smeared saffron on their breasts.<sup>77</sup> They mad<sup>u</sup> their faces bright with the white dust of lohra flowers.<sup>78</sup> they have long curly hair decorated with the seasonal evening-blossoming scented flowers. They used to decorate their ears with śirīṣa flowers. They annointed their foreheads with musk paste. They used to beautify their feet with lac.

They loved to play water-sports, and they were experts in swimming also. They sprinkled scent on their garments with agaru fumes.

Gaṅgā Devī does not ignore to write about the life of common folk. The poet narrates that the common woman who guards rice-fields lived a merry life. With joy she used to sing about the spotless fame of the king. She wore garlands of pearls that had come out of ripe red sugarcane. This shows that the king was loved by the common folk also. Wearing a pearl garland by a common woman shows the prosperity of the people of Vijayanagara kingdom.<sup>79</sup>

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77. MV, V. 55.

78. Ibid, V. 58.

79. Ibid, V. 48.

The women were described as skilled artists of instrumental music and dance,<sup>80</sup> In a moon light night they used to sit with their husbands and drink wine.

### 5. Special Customs

Wishing their prince's victory before his campaign, the city women threw fried rice as a good omen.<sup>81</sup> They used to give Nīrājanā to victorious horses.<sup>82</sup> They have faith in curing deceases by sprinkling holy ashes.<sup>83</sup>

The women used to perform the spring festival in the name of Manmadha-pūjā.<sup>84</sup> The women used to decorate their hair with seasonal scented flowers. This tradition prevails even today in Andhra society.

For a married woman wearing a white sari was a traditon mentioned by Gaṅgā Devī.<sup>85</sup> This tradition also is in continuity even today in Andhra. Gaṅgā Devī mentions agaru tilaka in many places. This agaru tilaka is used by Andhra women till today. They used different types of bindies to beutify their faces even today.

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80. MV, V. 12-13.

81. Ibid, IV. 33.

82. Ibid, V. 50.

83. Ibid, V. 33, 63.

84. Ibid, V. 71-75.

85. Ibid, VII. 46.

## CHAPTER V

## POETIC QUALITIES OF THE MADHURĀVIJAYA

Gaṅgā Devī composed the Madhurāvijaya in the form of a Mahākāvya, carefully following the rules laid down by the Alaṅkārikas like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

According to Daṇḍin, the main characteristics of a Mahākāvya are as follows: A Mahākāvya should be divided into sargas. Its hero must belong to the Kṣatriya caste or to be a devatā. He must be a dhīrodātta or dhīralalita. Some times a Mahākāvya deals with the story of many kings belonging to one dynasty, like Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa. A Mahākāvya mainly delineates śṛṅgāra rasa, or vīrarasa or śāntarasa. Other eight rasas should also be presented according to the situation as minor rasas. The Mahākāvya should begin with a maṅgalācarana. Then the poet should pay homage to the great poets of the past. They must also praise good poets (sukavistuti) and criticise bad poets (kukavinindā). In a Mahākāvya, there should be various types of descriptions. A Mahākāvya should be divided into not less than eight cantos of moderate length. The entire canto must be composed in a single metre, but there should be a change of metre at the end of the canto.<sup>1</sup>

Above mentioned rules were all followed very skillfully and beautifully by Gaṅgā Devī

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1. Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarsa, I. 14-19.

Daṇḍin says that a Mahākāvya should begin with a benediction, salutation or reference to the theme.<sup>2</sup> Following this rule, Gaṅgā Devī also starts her Mahākāvya with the invocation of Lord Gaṇeśa. Perhaps, she is the first one to begin with an invocation to Gaṇeśa.

kalyāṇā<sup>ya</sup> satām bhūyād devo dantāval<sup>ā</sup>nanah /  
śaraṇāgata-saṁkalpa-kalpanā-kalpapādapah //

According to some scholars, it is auspicious to begin the poem with any letter from ka-varga.<sup>3</sup> So here Gaṅgā Devī commenced her Mahākāvya with the letter 'Ka'. In the next two stanzas, she invokes Pārvatī and Paramesvara and then Sarasvatī.

In stanzas 4-16 she pays homage to the great poets of the past and present. These stanzas are very valuable and will be discussed in a seperate chapter. Then she speaks about the merits of her poem, and ideas about good poetry.

2. Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa, I. 14 :

āśīr namaskriyā vastunirdheśovāpi tanmukham /

3. Lakṣmīkaraḥ ka-vargah syāt; quoted in the comentary  
MV-Ps, I. 1.

### 1. Gaṅgā Devī's Ideas of Good Poetry

In Gaṅgā Devī's view there should be a harmonious combination of the word (śabda), meaning (artha), imagination (bhāva) and sentiment (rasa). She says that in some poems importance is given only to the sound, in some other only to the meaning, in others only to the poetic fancy or imagination and in yet in some others only to the rasa.

But nowhere is found a work where all these four good qualities exist together. Here the poet, indirectly indicates that her work possesses all good qualities to count it as a good Mahākāvya.

kvacid ardhāḥ kvacīd chabḍāḥ kvacīd bhāvaḥ kvacīd rasaḥ /  
yatradē santi sarve 'api sa nibandho na labhate //<sup>4</sup>

She has full confidence that she did not commit any single mistake in violation of the poetic rules. That is why she says that the poet should not commit even a single mistake which will cause criticism. Giving a simple example for this, she says that even a single drop of caustic lime will spoil the liquid of kālāgaru.

prabandham īṣanmātro 'api doṣo nayati dūṣyatām /  
kālāgarudravabharam śuktikṣāraṇo yathā //<sup>5</sup>

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4. MV, I. 17.

5. Ibid, I. 18.



She believes that writing a kāvya following all rules and avoiding all faults is not enough. The poem should have grace and beauty. Being a female writer, she gives a feminine example. She says that for a woman to please her husband, her virtue is not enough, she must also be beautiful.

nirdoṣāpy agunā vānī vidvajjanarañjanī /  
pativratāpy arūpā strī pariṇetre na rocate // <sup>6</sup>

In her opinion it is very difficult task to write a good Mahākāvya. She says that in this world there are many logicians, there are thousands of grammarians, but very few poets who are capable of writing tender and beautiful poetry. Here also she implies that she is a rare poet capable of delicate and charming expression.

tarkikā bahavaḥ santi śābdikāśca sahasraśaḥ /  
viratā kavayo loke saralālāpapeśaśaḥ // <sup>7</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī states that a good kāvya brings fame, produces wealth, removes sins and most important, it produces aesthetic pleasure in the reader.

karoti kīrtim ardhaya kalpate hanti duṣkṛtam /  
unmīlayati cāhlādaṃ kiṃ na sūte kaveḥ kṛtiḥ // <sup>8</sup>

6. MV, I. 19.

7. MV, I. 22.

8. Ibid, I. 23.

Of course, here Gaṅgā Devī is repeating the well known statement of Mammāṭa on the aims of poetry.<sup>9</sup> But by mentioning the aesthetic pleasure at the end, she is improving upon Mammāṭa.

According to Gaṅgā Devī, in the case of a good poem there is no need to request scholars to read it just as it is not necessary to request the bees to taste the nectar of sweet scented flowers. Flowers do not invite any bee to drink honey. They themselves come and drink it. In the same way scholars are attracted by a good kāvya.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Structure of the Madhurāvijaya

According to poetics, a Mahākāvya should be divided into sargas of moderate length. At the end of each sarga, there must be a change in the metre. Thus states Daṇḍin:

sargabandho māhākavyam ucyate<sup>11</sup>  
alamkṛta<sup>m</sup> asaṃkṣiptaṃ rasabhāvanirantaraṃ /  
sargair anativistīrṇaiḥ śravyavṛttaiḥ susandhibhiḥ<sup>12</sup>  
sarvātra bhinnavṛttāntair upetaṃ lokarañjakam //<sup>13</sup>

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9. Mammāṭa, Kāvya-prakāśa, I. 2 :

kāvyaṃ yaśase arthakṛte vyavahāravide śivetarakṣataye /  
sadyaḥ paranirvṛtaye kāntāsammitatayopadeśayuje //

10. MV, I. 24.

11. Kavyā-darśa, I. 14.

12. Ibid, I. 18

13. Ibid, I. 19.

Gaṅgā Devī follows these rules. The following table indicates the change in the metres in various cantos.

Canto	Predominant metre	metre of the last stanza
1.	Anuṣṭubh	Vasantatīlakā
2.	Upajāti	Mālinī
3.	Vaṁśastha	Hārini
4.	Anuṣṭubh	Śārdūlavikrīḍita
5.	Drutavilambita	Mālinī
6.	Puṣpitāgrā	Śikharini
7.	Viyoginī	at the end, some slokas are missing
8.	Aupcchandāsika	"
9.	Indravajrā	Upendravajrā

As stated in the first chapter, there are large gaps from the sixth canto onwards. Especially, the final portion of the eighth canto and the beginning of the next canto are missing. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether the Madhurāvijaya was originally composed in nine sargas or more. In any case, it is noteworthy that Gaṅgā Devī employs a large number of metres in her poem.

### 3. Theme

According to poetics, the theme of a Mahākāvya should be based on the epics, or on a well-known, i.e. historical, event. So the Madhurāvijaya, is based on historical incident which brought changes in the history of South India. Thus it is a historical poem. Its hero Kampana is a kṣatriya prince and according to poetics he was a dhīrodātta-nāyaka. He had every good quality with a very handsome personality. He learned all śāstras, all kṣatriyavidyas, music and poetry.<sup>14</sup>

### 4. Descriptions

More important than the story are various kinds of descriptions, which are to be inserted in a Mahākāvya at appropriate places. These include descriptions of towns, oceans, mountains, gardens, various seasons, sunrise and such descriptions of nature, or dramatic events like water-sports, marriage, birth of a prince, sending messages, marching, battle, and also such events where hero's good fortune is depicted. In a Mahākāvya the descriptions must be on-

nagaṇṇava-śailartucandrarkodayavarṇanaiḥ  
udyānasalilakriḍā madhupānaratōtsavaiḥ // <sup>15</sup>

vipralambhair vivāhaiś ca kumārodavavarṇanaiḥ  
mantradūtaprayāñjināyakābhyudair api // <sup>16</sup>

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14. MV, III. 1, 16.

15. Kāvyaḍarsa, I. 16.

16. Ibid, I. 17.

Gaṅgā Devī presents many of the above mentioned types of descriptions in a beautiful manner.

In the first canto the city of Vijayanagara was described very vividly.. The city was described as comparable to Indra's Amarāvati, with beautiful pleasure groves, pleasure hillocks, colourful gem-set step lakes, which were always inhabited by swans and lofty buildings.

In the second canto the birth of the hero was described.

The third canto contains the incidents of the marriage of the prince Kampana with Gaṅgā Devī and other beautiful princesses.

The fourth canto begins with the preparation for the conquest of Camparāya's territory. In the same canto war between the two forces is described. Kampana's victory over Tamil country, his establishment of peace in the country was also described in the same canto.

In the fifth canto there is a beautiful description of all seasons in a successful imitation of Kālidāsa's Rtusamhāra. Kālidāsa starts from grīṣma and ends with vasanta. Following this tradition Gaṅgā Devī also starts

her description with grīṣma. Kālidāsa says:

niśāḥ śāsāṅkakṣatanīla<sup>a</sup>jayah  
 kvacid vicitraṃ jalayantramandiram /  
 maṇiprakārāḥ sarasaṃ ca candanaṃ  
 'sucāu priye yānti janasya sevyatām // 17

Following the same idea, Gaṅgā Devī describes how the hot summer days are being spent by Kampana with his wives

himagrheṣu nīrantaraśīkara-  
 prakaraḍarsītatār<sup>a</sup>kaṇkṭiṣu  
 divasatāpam ahāpayad āyataṃ  
 varavadhūsaḥito vasudhādhipaḥ // 18

At another place, describing the śaradrutu, the poet compares the beautiful faces of the women with clear and twinkling stars of autumnal nights,<sup>19</sup> whereas Kālidāsa compares the bright beautiful faces of the ladies with white lotuses and their beautiful wide eyes with blue-lillies.<sup>20</sup>

As Candra Prabha says, Gaṅgā Devī's thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. She avoids long compounds and uses beautiful similies.<sup>21</sup> She shows all her skill as

17. Kālidāsa, Rtusamhāra, I. 2.

18. MV, V. 23.

19. Ibid, V. 47.

20. Kālidāsa, Rtusamhāra, III. 17.

21. Candra Prabha, Historical Mahākāvya in Sanskrit, p. 326.

a female writer in the fifth, sixth, and seventh cantos. She expresses her thoughts according to the scene and presents the picture full of life with rhythmical words in front of the readers. For example, giving a lively description of the rainy season, she presents the thunder sounds of the lightning in the following manner:

rudhirabindunibhacchavir anvagāt  
 kṣititale harigopaparamparā /  
 ghanagharatṭaparaspāraghaṭṭana-  
 kṣadirammaḍavahinikaṇāvalim //<sup>22</sup>

Here one can hear the rumbling sounds of the clouds.

While the description of the seasons by Kālidāsa and other writers is chiefly from the male point of view, Gaṅgā Devī's descriptions offer a delicate feminine touch. The dark clouds with streaks of lightning and drops of water look like black blouses worn by the Lady Sky, on which there is an embroidery of gold thread and pearls.

sputataṭit-tapanīyaguṇojjvalaiḥ  
 prṭhupayaḥkaṇamauktikaśaṅgibhiḥ /  
 alikadambakasacchavibhir diśām  
 asitakañculikāyitam ambudaiḥ //<sup>23</sup>

Or the arc of the rainbow containing green, red and white colours shone like the girdle of the Lady, set with emerald, coral and pearls:

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22. MV, V. 28.

23. MV, V. 26.

haritalohitapāṇur arājata  
 tridaśarāj<sup>ś</sup>śārasanalekhikā  
 marakatopalavidrumauktikair<sup>ma</sup>  
 viracitā rasaneva nabhaśśriyaḥ // <sup>24</sup>

Describing the spring season, she speaks of the worship of Cupid by the beautiful ladies of Kampana. In that festival ladies have to paint the picture of Cupid on a picture board. Here the ladies of Kampana, completed their pictures by painting Kampana, who was always in their hearts.<sup>25</sup> In the sixth canto, there are descriptions of flower-gathering and water-sports.

In the seventh canto Gaṅgā Devī shows all her skill in expressing her ideas in a <sup>ē</sup>tender and beautiful way. She presents beautiful pictures of the sunset, the nights gradually becoming dark, and of the rising moon.

Here the poet compares darkness, heat of Sun, night, sky, stars, lamps, and lotuses in different ways. At some places she compares the darkness of the night to the musk-paste applied on the cheeks of the queen Night, or to the tender leaves of Tamāla with which the Lady Night decorate her ears, or they were smokes rising from the quenching of the sun's heated surface, or they were black bees disguised as darkness filling the regions after the closing

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24. MV, V. 27.

25. Ibid, V. 71.



of the lotuses, or the black waters of Jamuna raised  
by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>26</sup>

Before setting in the west, the Sun kept his heat  
(paritāpa) in the hearts of women who were separated from  
their lovers, and his brilliance in the herbs that shine  
at the nights. At another place the poet compares the  
twinkling stars as the drops of perspiration<sup>P</sup> that appears  
on the blue sky as a result of the burning heat of the  
Sun during the day time.

For her, time was the farmer, the dark skies were  
the muddy fields, and the twinkling stars were the well-  
washed seeds of grain to raise the crop of moon-light.<sup>27</sup>

26. MV, VII. 23-24: udiyāya tato digāṅganā  
śravaṇākapatamālapallavaḥ /  
rajanīmukhapatralalekhikā-  
racanārāṅkumadaś tamonkuraḥ //  
kim u dhūmabharāḥ praśāmyato  
dyumaṇigrāvagatasya tejaśaḥ /  
praśā<sup>sa</sup>ra disaś tamomiśāt  
kim u milatkamalālisaṃcayāḥ //

27. MV, VII. 29: avapat kimukālakarṣakas  
timirāmbhaṅkaḥ nabhastale /  
vimalām udubijamaṇḍalīm  
navacandrātapaśyaśiddhaye //

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Or, the sky was a tree, the evening twilight was the tender branches wherein one can see the countless buds of little twinkling stars.

ahratyayarāgapallavas  
 tamasā kandalito nabhastaruḥ /  
 sṛjati sma nirantāraṃ harid  
 - viṭapaṣ tārakakoṣkāvālim // 28

The beautiful description of moon-rise by the poet herself also occurs in the same canto. Here she showed all her skill using vivid language full of poetical sentiments. She gives a very beautiful and natural description of Nīśāsundari and the moon.

In the final canto, there are awesome descriptions of the battle between Kampana and the Sultan of Madurai. Thus Madhurāvijaya is full of descriptions, as laid out in poetics, but in each description Gaṅgā Devī shows same originality.

## 5. Rasas

As Dhañanjaya in his Daśarūpaka describes eight rasas,<sup>29</sup> Gaṅgā Devī also depicts all those rasas very successfully. The main rasa of the Madhurāvijaya is vīrarasa, the heroic sentiment. In this poem, Kampana was described as the incarnation of Śrīrāma, born to destroy the Turuṣkas from South India. With this main Vīrasasa, Śrīṅgārarasa and other rasas were also presented as subordinate rasas.

Vīrarasa is delineated throughout the poem, but more powerfully in the battle between Kampana and the Sultan, whereas the peaceful ruling time of Kampana at Ka nchi was the occasion for the delineation of śrīṅgāra-rasa.

As uddīpanas for the Śrīṅgārarasa, seasons, flower-gathering, hunting, water-sports with his beautiful young ladies were described. As upāṅgas for vīrarasa, hāsyā, bhībhastsa and bhayānaka were depicted at appropriate places.

The poet expresses these rasas very skillfully. In the final canto, bhībhasta and bhayānaka are described in 7, 20, 24, and 25 verses. Vīrarasa is described in

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29. Dhañanjaya, Daśarūpaka, IV. 35:

rat<sup>y</sup> tsāha jugupsāḥ krodh<sup>h</sup>āśaḥ smayo bhayaṁ śokaḥ /

10, 11, 16, 19, 27, 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, and 39 verses.  
Forexample in the battle field Kampana's heroism was  
as follows:

King Kampana let fly his arrows against the Yavana  
king, which were like the Serpents that drank the life  
breath of Keralas, fire that consumed the Lords of the  
forest kingdom, and just like the Sun who had destroyed  
the darkness in the form of Andhras.

sa keralaprāṇamarudbhujāṅgān  
vanyāvanindradrūmadāvavahnīn /  
andhrāndhakāraṣayatiḡmabhāṣo  
bāṇān amūñcad yavane narendrah // 30

The following sloka contains both adbhuta and vīra  
rasas. In this verse the hero is astonished to see that  
even after the head had fallen, the trunk of the Sultan  
on the horseback still held the reins in one hand while  
the other hand was ready to attack the enemy with the  
sword. Here the author tries to depict the heroism of  
the enemy.

cyute 'api śīrṣe calitāśvavālgā  
niyantraṇavyāpṛtavāṃpāṇim /  
pratipṛhāraprasṛtānyahastam  
vīraḥ kabandham dviṣato 'bhyandīt // 31

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30. MV, IX. 30.

31. Ibid, IX. 39.

Through Goddess Madhura's voice describing the miseries and hard days of the subjects in a pathetic way the poet presents the Karunarasa. In this way all rasas were presented with dexterity in this Mahākāvya.

## 6. ALĀNKĀRAS

It is said that South Indians are fond of employing utpreksā.<sup>32</sup> Vidyānātha in his Pratāparudrayasobhūṣana mentions twenty seven divisions of utpreksā.<sup>33</sup>

So Gaṅgā Devī also in her poem gave more importance to utpreksā. But she also employs rūpaka, atīśayokti, bhrāntimān, upamā, dr̥ṣṭānta, svabhāvokti and other alānkāras. She also uses Śabdālānkāras like anuprāsa, <sup>Vatyanuprāsa</sup> yamaka in her poem. It is no exaggeration to say that in the Madhurāvijaya every stanza contains a special feature. Following verses are some examples to illustrate her skill in poetics.

### A. Arthālānkāras

Utpreksā:

Mamṣatā in his Kāvya prakāśa defines utpreksā as sambhāvanam adhotpreksā prakṛtasya samena yat.<sup>34</sup> It means that, when, under description is imagined to be identical with a thing which is not under description but similar to it, the figure is Utpreksā.

32. Utpreksā dākṣiṇātyeṣu/

33. Pratāparudrayasobhūṣana. arthālānkāraḥ, pp. 383-396.

34. Kāvya prakāśa, x. 137.

Gaṅgā Devī in the following stanza beautifully uses utprekṣā. The Sun is setting or descending in the western ocean. But the poet attributes a motive for this every day event. She says that the Sun is entering the western ocean as if he wants to replemish the heat from the submarine fire, because during the day his heat was drunk up by the lotuses. This shows how skillful Gaṅgā Devī is in grasping the beauty of the nature and decorate her imagination colourfully.

paricūṣitadīptir ambujaiḥ  
punar ūṣmāṇam ivāptum aurvataḥ /  
rayavalgitavāhano rāviḥ  
payasāṃ rāsim avāpa paścimam // 35

At several other places also, for example, I. 44 and I. 59, she employs utprekṣā skilfully.

Rūpaka:

For Mammaṭa, samastavastuviśayam srautā āropita yadā <sup>36</sup> is rūpaka. That means when, in order to indicate extreme likeness between Upamāna and Upameya, they are represented as non-different, the upameya not being denied, the figure is rūpaka.

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35. MV, VII. 2. \* VII. 28, IX. 25, 33, 40.

36. Kāvya-prakāśa, X. 140.

Canto V of Madhurāvijaya deals with the description of seasons(rtu). While describing the early autumn, Gaṅgā Devī utilises rūpaka to further enhance her poetic dexterity. The stanza cited below indicates high poetic quality of Gaṅgā Devī. The early autumn sky without clouds is compared with a lion. The dignified face of the lion is like the Sun. His bright red eyes are described as blossoming China-roses(japākusuma). The manes are kasa grass with white efflorescence.

While describing the rainy season, Gaṅgā Devī compares the thick black clouds with elephants. Autumn has cloudless sky. Describing the autumn as a lion, shows the acumen of Gaṅgā Devī. The sight of the lion make the elephants run. There is an undercurrent of suggestion namely the victory of Kampana over the Sultan of Madurai. The Muslim rule is indicated as cloudy sky of the rainy season, the expedition of Kampana started during the early autumn, which is an indication of clearing those clouds.

vidhutakāśasaṭābhārabhāsuraḥ  
 prakāṭitorujapāruṇalocaṇḥ /  
 vyaghaṭayaḍ ghanadantighaṭāḥ sphuraḍ  
 ravimukaḥ saradāgamakesarī // <sup>37</sup>

Other examples for rūpaka can be seen in I. 8, 12; IV. 13, 43; VII. 23, 31; VIII. 32, 33.

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37. MV, V. 39.

Upamā:

The principle for upamā, according to the Kāvya prakāśa, is sādharmya-upamā bhede.<sup>38</sup> Mammāṭa explains that, the figure of speech called upamā occurs when common qualities are established between two things, but at the same time maintaining their distinctness.

Gaṅgā Devī, in canto VIII of her poem Madhurāvijaya, dramatically introduces a dream scene. It is, the appearance of goddess Madurai before Kampana in a pitiable and pathetic condition. She narrates the deteriorated condition of the people and their dharma. She finds a liberator in Kampana. She blesses him and presents a devine sword. The devine sword is described in the stanza given below.

adha taṃ kaladhautakośataḥ sā  
karalagnatsarur uccakhāna khaḍgam /  
acirojjhitakañcukānubandha-  
sputakāloragabhogasanyabhājam // 39

Gaṅgā Devī compares the devine sword with a black cobra. The sword drawn-out from the shining golden sheath looked a black snake who had just come out of its slough. In this verse Gaṅgā Devī not only exhibits her ability of using the simily but also displays her command over the language. She implies upamā at I. 73; IX. 18, 21 also.

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38. Kāvya prakāśa, X. 125.

39. MV, VIII. 18.



Bhrāntimān:

Bhrāntimān anyasaṃvit tattulyadarsane,<sup>40</sup> says Mammata in his Kāvya prakāśa. It implies, when at the sight of a thing which forms the subject of description upameya another thing which does not form the subject of description upamāna is cognized through resemblance, the figure is bhrāntimān. To put it simply when the upamāna is charmingly mistaken for the upameya there is bhrāntimān. It should be noted that the mistake must not be gross but poetical.

Gaṅgā Devī, in the following stanza describes the Sun set in a delightful manner. She describes that the reflection of the setting Sun in western ocean created the false illusion of golden cymbals (kāñcanatāla) of Lord Śiva. According to Hindu mythology, Lord Śiva dances every evening at the time of Sun-set. Here the poet expresses her profound knowledge of mythology. She charmingly expresses the beauty of the nature during the Sun-set with the golden cymbals which imply the tune of the time.

caramāmbudhivīcicumbita-  
pratibimbāśrayi maṇḍalam raveṇ /  
divasāntanaṭasya dhūrjateḥ  
vidadhe kāñcanatālāvibhramam // <sup>41</sup>

In other cantos also she skilfully uses this alaṅkāra, for example, IV. 66; VI. 6, 10.

40. Kāvya prakāśa, X. 200.

41. MV, VII. 9.

### Atiśayokti:

According to Mammata, Atiśayokti consists of  
nigiryādhyavasānam tu prakṛtasyo pareṇa yat /  
prastutasya yad anyatvam yady arthoktau ca kalpanam //  
kāryakāraṇayor yaś ca paurvāparyaviparyayaḥ  
vijñeyā 'tiśayoktiḥ sā // 42

It means that, when the visayin that upamāna or aprastuta swallows up the visaya that is upameya or prastuta, or when a prastuta is imagined to be something else, or when there is a reversal of the order of cause and effect, the figure is atiśayokti.

Gaṅgā Devī, while describing the marching of the army of Kampana against Camparāya, in canto IV of Madhurā-vijaya, presents a remarkable imagination. Ādiśeṣa feels the burden of the weight of the marching army of Kampana. But at the same time, he feels that the earth has become lighter to some extent because the marching feet of the soldiers raised lot of dust. The Hindu mythology believes that the burden of the earth is borne by Ādiśeṣa.

rajobhir muhuruddhūtair  
 laghūbhavati bhūbhare /  
 kathamcit pṛtanābhāraṃ  
 cakṣame phaṇināṃ patiḥ // 43

More examples for Atiśayokti are seen in I. 57; V. 75.

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42. Kāvyaprakāśa, X. 153.

43. MV, IV. 36.

Kāvyaṅga:

Defining Kāvyaṅga Mammata says: Kāvyaṅgam hetor vākyapadarthatā.<sup>44</sup> It means that when the sense of a sentence or of a single word or of several words is stated as the cause, the figure is kāvyaṅga.

Gaṅgā Devī in her poem uses this alaṅkāra at many places. In the fifth canto, the poet gave various reasons for Kampana's increasing love towards his ladies. They also showed special care to attract him.

In rainy season the ladies used to decorate their curly hair with seasonal evening blossoming mālati flowers. They scented their cloths with agaru fumes and perfumed themselves with musk. It is for this reason, they could attract Kampana.

tamaharnn aharatyayamālati-  
kusumadanturakuntalakāntayaḥ /  
parihitāgarudhūpitavāsasaḥ  
sutanavo mṛgaṇā<sup>b</sup>hisugandhayaḥ // 45

She uses this alaṅkāra in I.14; II. 9; 34, 37; IV. 17, 62, 64; V. 21, 22, 34, 35, 36, 55, 61, 72; VII. 42; and VIII. 11 etc.

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44. Kāvyaṅgaśāstra, X. 174.

45. MV, V. 35.

### Nidarsanā:

Giving the definition to Nidarsanā Mammaṭa says:  
abhavanvasatusambandha upamāpari kalpakah. <sup>46</sup> When the  
 non existence of any relation between two things implies  
 similarity then it is called as Nidarsanā.

With great skill Gaṅgā Devī uses this figure of  
 speech in her kāvya. Giving a detailed description of  
 Kampana's army and the dust raised by his forces, the  
 poet shows her skill in giving a variety of similies.  
 At one place in fourth canto she says:

vitenire karenūnām karaśīkarareṇavaḥ /  
 ghanasya senārajasah karakākāracāturīm // <sup>47</sup>

In this verse, it is said that the water particles sprayed  
 from the trunks of elephants had borne the beauty of hail-  
 stones. The beauty of the hail-stones can be borne only by  
 hail-stones. But by stating that the water particles  
 bear this beauty, a similarity between the water particles  
 and the hail stones so implied.

### Prativastūpamā:

Mammaṭa defines prativasūpamā as follows

prativastūpamā tu sā sāmānyasya  
dvir ekasya yatra vākyadvaye sthitiḥ / <sup>48</sup>

46. Kāvyaprakāśa, X. 149.

47. MV, IV. 42.

48. Kāvyaprakāśa, X. 154.

It means that when one and the same common quality is stated two times in two sentences the sense of one consisting of Upamāna and the other consisting of Upameya the figure is prativastūpamā.

This alaṅkāra is employed in the Madhurāvijaya also at many places. Gaṅgā Devī decorates her kāvyā with these alaṅkāras using prativastūpamā in first canto.

cauryarjitena kavayena kiyad dīvyatī durjanah /  
āhāryarāgo na ciraṃ rucirah kṛtrimopalaḥ // 49

In this stanza the poet uses for one common property radiance two different words dīvyatī and rucirah. In the first line the poet criticises plagiarists who steal others writings and shine only for a short time. In the second line she gives the parallel of artificially coloured gem which shines for a short while only. With this beautiful simile she indirectly compares the virtuous kāvyā with a precious stone and a stolen poem with an artificial stone. Gaṅgā Devī uses this figure of speech in I. 19, III. 31.

Dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ:

In Kāvyaprakāśa, Mammāṭa says about dr̥ṣṭānta:

dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ punare etesām sarveṣām pratibimbanam / 50  
when there is bimba prtibimba bhāva between the upameya and upamāna, between their additional qualities the figure is called dr̥ṣṭānta.

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49. MV, I. 21.

50. Kāvyaprakāśa, X. 155.

Gaṅgā Devī, in canto III of Madhurāvijaya gives many examples for dr̥ṣṭānta alaṅkāra. These examples show her ability and skill in politics. Giving a timely advice to his Son for campaign to Madurai Bukka says to Kampana with a simple example:

athābhibhūtākḥilavanyabhūṛ tas  
 turuṣkabhaṅgas tava naiva duṣkaraḥ /  
 nigīrṇaśākḥāśatasamhatih katham  
 tarupr̥kāṇḍam na dahed davānalah //<sup>51</sup>

As a prelude to victory over the Turuṣka king Bukka advises his son first to defeat all those tribal kings. Then only it will be easy to him to break the power of Turuṣka. For this he shows a simple example. It would not be difficult for forest fire which has consumed flames of hundreds of branches of a tree, to destroy its trunk.

Svabhāvokti:

svabhāvoktistu dīmbhādeḥ sv̥kriyā rūṇyaḥ nanam //<sup>52</sup>

This is the definition of svabhāvokti given by Mammata in his Kāvya prakāśa. When action, form and other characteristics of a child, a young lady, or an animal etc. are described the figure is called svabhāvokti.

Gaṅgā Devī, a worshiper of the Nature, displays her skill in decorating her kāvya with precious ornaments of śabdālaṅkāras and as well as arthālaṅkāras. The following verses will show us the glimpses of young woman (gopavadhu) guarding rice field, who decorates her neck

51. MV? III. 42.

52. Kāvya prakāśa, X. 168.

with garlands of pearls that had come out of the bursting of a ripe red sugarcane, sang the spotless fame of the king. With this natural description here the poet depicts a peaceful and a wealthy society of that time.

parinatekṣupariyutamauktika .  
grathitahāramanoharamūrtibhiḥ /  
visaḍam asya yaśo nr̥pateḥ kalam  
kalamagopavadhūbhir agāyata // 53

Gāṅgā Devī uses this alaṅkāra in other places also. Stanzas such as IV. 50; V. 16; 32, 49; VIII. 31 are a few examples to exhibit her skill in svabhāvokti.

Gāṅgā Devī also makes use of Parināma in IV. 60, 74; Māloṣamā in II. 12; Sandeha in I. 41; Vyājokti in VI. 8; Parisamkhyā in I. 65; Vivhāvana in VI. 4; Yadhāsamkhyā in II. 36; Vyatireka in II. 38, III. 12, 22; V. 52; Sahokti in II. 16; Virodhābhāsa in IX. 13; Parikara in IV. 48.

These are a very few examples to show her ability in poetics.

## B. Sabdālankāras

### Anuprāśa:

Varnasāmyam anuprāśah.<sup>54</sup> The meaning of Anuprāśa (alliteration) is that it consists in the same consonents being repeated, even though the vowels may differ.

Similarly Gaṅgā Devī uses consonents 'va' and 'na' repeatedly many times and beautifies the rythm of the śloka.

vāṇīpāṇīparāmrṣṭavī.ṇāṇikvaṇahāriṇīm

bhāvayanti katham vanye bhāṭṭabāṇa sy.ṇbhāratīm//<sup>55</sup>

### Vṛtyanuprāśa:

Mamṭa defines vṛtyanuprāśa as ekasyāpy asakṛt parah.<sup>56</sup> Vṛtyanuprāśa consists in the repetition of one or several consonents more than once. It beautifies the style and helps the suggestion of a rasa.

To cite an example of Gaṅgā Devī's usage of vṛtyanuprāśa, note the following śloka. In this śloka the poet repeats consonents such as 'la', and 'va'. It is a demonstration of literary skill with an appealing musical sound.

vikasadvanitāvallī-vilāsavanavāṭikā

dakṣiṇāśāsarojākṣī-phālalīlālālāṭikā //

<sup>57</sup>

54. Kāvya prakāśa, IX. 104.

55. MV, I. 8.

56. Kāvya prakāśa, IX. 107.

57. MV, I. 51.



yamaka:

Mammata defines the principle of Yamaka as arthe saty arthabhinnānām varṇānām sā punah śrutih yamakam. That is the repetition of a group of letters in the same order with a different meaning constitutes yamaka.

Yamaka is a śāḍlāṅkāra, rather it means playing with words. A particular word is repeatedly used with different meaning in the same verse.

Following stanza shows the art of Gaṅgā Devī to play with words. Here she makes use of yamakālaṅkāra. In this stanza, she uses the 'vāritābhiḥ' in the first and second line. In the first line it carries the meaning "those who were stopped", whereas in the second line the word is broken up into vāri tābhiḥ ( by them water). In a similar fashion, the word 'carcikābhiḥ' is repeated in the third and fourth lines. In the third it is used for the decorative marks with sandal, and in the fourth it meant for Kampana's graceful ladies (macarcikābhiḥ).

api dayitatamena vāritābhir  
grhasaraso vijahe na vāri tābhiḥ  
parilulitalalāmacarcikābhir  
vihṛti rasān mahilāma carcikābhiḥ // 59

Gaṅgā Devī presents every verse with special care by using different alāṅkāras. In the Madhurāvijaya, we notice every verse composed with utter care of scholarship and poetic skill.

The Madhurāvijaya is written in Vaidarbhi style; Her verses are so delicate and easy to understand that she wrote it in drākṣāpāka. In his Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, Vidyānātha defines drākṣāpāka thus:

drākṣāpākaḥ sakathito bahir antaḥ sphuradrasaḥ<sup>60</sup>

In the following examples, we can see her delicate use of words with lucid meaning.

kamalāmodamadhuraiḥ kalaḥ<sup>ā</sup>msakulākulaiḥ / (I. 49)

vikasadvanitāvallīvilāsavanavā<sup>ṭ</sup>ikā / (I. 59)

## 7. GAṄGĀ DEVĪ'S SCHOLARSHIP

Gaṅgā Devī did not give any important information about her parentage or about herself. So we can only assume that she flourished between 1353 A.D. to 1374 A.D. Under Viśvanātha's able guidance she studied all classics, sāstras, vedic lore with great perception. Her depth of knowledge and genius shines throughout her poem.

Along with all classics she appears to have studied deeply Sāmudrikaśāstra, Manudharmaśāstra, all purāṇās, poetics specially Daṇḍin's Kāvyaadarśa, Maṇḍana's Kāvyaaprakāśa, Agastya's (Vidyānātha), Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa and Dhañanjaya's Daśarūpaka very well. She also studied Devesa's Kavikalpalata. She had thorough knowledge in Ratnaśāstra, Aśvaśāstra and Gajaśāstra too.

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60. Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, Kāvyaaprakaraṇam-35.

In her poem wherever necessary Gaṅgā Devī used all this knowledge appropriately.

- (a) Her knowledge of Vedic lore can be seen at the very begining of the poem. I.2; IV. 19.
- (b) Her skill and deep study in palmistry is found in the second canto.
- (c) The knowledge of Manudharmasāstra is displayed in the description of the fort. I. 48, of Jātakarma II.33, Gambling II. 28, and drinking wine III. 29, 30.
- (d) She showed her knowledge about Aśva and Gaja-sāstras in fourth and concluding cantos.
- (e) The Capital of Vijayanagara empire, and the principal queen of Bukka were described according to Devesa's Kavī kalpalata in first and second cantos.
- (f) She displayed her knowledge about Ratnasāstra in I. 58 and IV. 14 etc.
- (g) She described all seasons according Kavikalpalata in fifth canto.
- (h) Her beautiful description about the ornaments of pearls and precious stones can be seen in fifth and six cantos.
- (i) The descriptions of the evening is according to the Daśarūpaka.

These are only some examples to show her scholarship in all śāstras. Her knowledge in mythology, purāṇās and epics can be seen every where in this poem.

As a gifted poet Gaṅgā Devī, decorates her kāvya as a beautiful, ornamented lady with all her talents. The Entire Kāvya shines with her delicate and tender female ideas. These ideas attract the readers like the fragrance of a flower. This feminine touch in her poetry can be seen every where in this kāvya.

She tries to depict the woman as virtuous and beautiful one(I.19). In the seventh canto , dark night is compared to a mother (VII. 32), to beautiful woman (VII. 33). She illustrates the eastern region as a pregnant lady and as a pretty maiden(VII.35, 36). At one place she glorifies the beauty of damsel called the eastern region with white silk of moonlight presented to her by the night(VII. 46).

śaśimaṇḍaśaṅkhaṇḍakād  
avakṛṣya kṣapayā samarpitam /  
kumudacchavi kaumudīmayam  
dadhatī kṣaumam abhāddigaṅganā //

She introduces herself very gracefully in seventh canto. One evening, Kampana requests her to describe the night in her nectar-like words. Kampana says :  
"Oh! lotus eyed dear, let this hour be spent by your sweet descriptions of the night. I am eagerly wanting to drink the nectar of your poetry with my ears." 61

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61. MV, VII. 40.

She appears in front of the readers with beautiful lotus face with white clear smile on her face slowly began to describe the night.

iti sã dayi<sup>t</sup>ena phãṣitã  
 daranamram dadhati mukhãmbujam /  
 vadati sma śanaiḥ śucismitã  
 sarasodārapadāṃ sarasvatīm // 62

It can be said without any hesitation that the entire Madhurāvijaya is 'sarasodārapada'.

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## CHAPTER VI

### INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT AND TELUGU POETS ON GAṅGĀ DEVĪ

At the beginning of the Madhurāvijaya, Gaṅgā Devī pays homage to some great poets in Sanskrit and Telugu. These thirteen stanzas (MV, I. 4-16) are important in several respects. In her praise of each poet, she mentions in a pithy way the most characteristic quality of the poet. These stanzas are assessments of the merits of the concerned poet or what can be called, literary criticism. Secondly, by praising these poets Gaṅgā Devī acknowledges her deep knowledge of the works of these poets and their influence on her. Influence does not mean that Gaṅgā Devī blindly imitated these poets; it means Gaṅgā Devī's poem is enriched by her knowledge of the works of various poets. She takes up an idea or motif from another poet and elaborates upon it in an original way.

Thirdly, some of the poets eulogised by Gaṅgā Devī belong to her region and times.

Among uncountable names in Sanskrit literature she chose only a very few poets whose works had immense influence on her. She paid rich tributes to those great

poets such as Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti; specially from Andhra reion, such as Kriyāśakti, Līlāsuka, Tikkana, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara, and her own guru Viśvanātha.

### 1. Kriyāśakti

Immediately after the invocation of Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Pārvatī and Sarasvatī, she pays rich tributes to Kriyāśakti the kulaguru of Vijayanagara kingdom. She praises him as another Trilocana, unparalleled in wisdom and brilliance.

The fact that Kriyāśakti is mentioned even before Vālmīki shows his importance for Vijayanagara royal family.

### 2. Vālmīki

Vālmīki is mentioned as the first poet on the earth and as muni. He is to confer clarity of mind (prasāda). The implication is that, according to Gaṅgā Devī, prasāda (lucidity) is the main characteristic of Vālmīki.

### 3. Vyāsa

While praising Vyāsa, Gaṅgā Devī compares his work, the Mahābhārata, to a sugar cane, because there is aesthetic pleasure (sāra) in each parvan of the Mahābhārata, just as there is sweet juice (sāra) in each segment (parvan) of the sugar cane.

vaiyāsake girām gumphe pundrekṣāv iva labhyate/  
sadyaḥ sahrdayāhlādī sāraḥ parvaṇi parvaṇi // <sup>1</sup>

Significantly, the last line of this stanza became proverbial in Andhra. On the cover page of the Telugu Mahābhārata, they write even today

sāraḥ parvaṇi, <sup>parvaṇi</sup> to which a new line is added, prati-parva-rasaspadam. These lines are accompanied by illustrations of asugar cane and ocean. The underlying idea is, just as there is sweet juice (sāra or rasa) in each segment (parvan) of the sugar cane, just as there is tide (sāra or rasa) in the ocean at each Pūrṇimā or Amāvāsyā (parvan), even so in each parvan of the Mahābhārata there is aesthetic pleasure (sāra or rasa). This shows that Gaṅgā Devī's poem was extremely popular in Telugu speaking areas.

#### 4. Kālidāsa

Gaṅgā Devī was very much influenced by the works of Kālidāsa. Quite often she skilfully imitates Kālidāsa. Paying rich tributes to Kālidāsa, she says: "who are the poets that do not play the role of a slave to Kālidāsa? Even now they live by this idea."<sup>2</sup> According

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1. MVM I. 6.

2. MV, I. 7: dāsatām kālidāsasya kavayaḥ ke na bibhrati /  
idānīm api tasyārthān upajīvanty amī yataḥ //



to her it is a merit of poetry to imitate kālīdāsa's poetry.

Her deep study of Kālīdāsa's works is seen in her use of tender expressions in the descriptions, in her poetic style. Especially, in Gaṅgā Devī's descriptions of Vijayanagara, of the queen's pregnancy, Kampana's birth and childhood, we can see clear influence of Raghuvamśa. For example, giving natural description of pregnant queen Devāyī, Gaṅgā Devī says:

garbhasthitasyeva śīśor vidhātum  
vasundharāmaṇḍalabhārasikṣām /  
arocayat pāarthivadharmapatnī  
manye mṛdāsvādarasānubandham // <sup>3</sup>

This śloka has many similarities with a stanza in the Raghuvamśa. Describing Sudakṣiṇā, Kālīdāsa says:

divaṃ marutvān iva 'bhokṣyate bhuvam  
digantaviśrāntaratho hi tatsutaḥ /  
ato 'bhilāṣe prathamam tadhāvidhe  
mano babandhānyarasān vilāṅghya sā // <sup>4</sup>

Giving a significant meaning to the names of the kings is a special feature of Kālīdāsa's poetry. In his Raghuvamśa, giving the meaning of 'Raghu' he says:

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3. MV, II. 3.

4. Raghuvamśa, III. 4.

śrutasya yāyād ayam antam arbhakas  
 tathā pareṣāṃ yudhi ceti pārthivaḥ /  
 avekṣya dhātor gamanārtham arthavic  
 cakāra nāmnā raghum ātmasambhavam // <sup>5</sup>

The same method was followed by Gaṅgā Devī while giving the meaning of 'Kampana' in the following verse:

ākampayīṣyaty ayam ekavīraḥ  
 saṅgrāmarāṅge sakalān arātīn  
 ity eva niścītya sa dīrghadarśī  
 nāmnā sutaṃ kampana ity akārṣīt // <sup>6</sup>

In the descriptions of the seasons, she mostly follows the Rtusamhāra and Meghadūta. The descriptions of the dusk and the moon rise have similarities with such descriptions in the Kumārasambhava. The appearance of Goddess Maḍurai and her narration of the miseries resembles the presiding deity of Ayodhya telling her miseries to King Kusa in Raghuvamśa (XVI. 12).

In the first canto, fiftysixth sloka, Gaṅgā Devī describes the pearl-ball of the beautiful young ladies. In the Kumārasambhava, Kālidāsa described Pārvatī playing with her friends with a ball. Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta says:

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5. Raghuvamśa, III. 4.

6. MV, II. 34.

vidyutvantam lalitavanitāḥ sendrcāpam sacitrāḥ  
 sangītāya prahatam<sup>u</sup>rajāḥ snigdha<sup>u</sup>gambhīraghoṣam /  
 antastoyam maṇimayabhuvas tuṅgam abhramliḥagrāḥ  
 prasādās tvam tulayit<sup>u</sup>m alam yatra tais tair viśeṣaiḥ //<sup>7</sup>

The following stanza has some resemblences:

yatra saudheṣu saṅgītamaṅga<sup>d</sup>pratinādiṣu  
 akāṇḍe tāṇḍavārambham vitanvanti śikhaṇḍinaḥ // <sup>8</sup>

Describing the pregnant queen Sudakṣiṇā, Kālidāsa  
 says in his Raghuvamśa:

nīdhānagarbhām iva sāgarāmbaram  
 śamīm ivābhyant<sup>a</sup>ralīnapāvakām /  
 nadīm ivāntaḥsalilām sarasvatīm  
 nr̥paḥ sasattvām mahiṣīm amanyatā //<sup>9</sup>

where as Gaṅgā Devī's description of the pregnant queen  
 Devāyī runs thus:

tam anbugarbhām iva meghamālām  
 velām ivabhyantaralīnacandrām /  
 antastharatnām iva śuktirekhām  
 āpannasattvām prabhur abhyananat //<sup>10</sup>

In the Raghuvamśa, the king performs the rite of  
 pūṁsavana:

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7. Meghadūta, uttarā<sup>a</sup>bhāga, I sloka.

8. MV, I. 57.

9. Raghuvamśa, III. 9.

10. MV, II. 12.

priyānurāgasya manahsamunnater  
 bhujārjitānām ca digantasampadām /  
 yathākramam puṁsavanādikāḥ kriyā  
 śrteś ca dhīraḥ sadṛśīr vyadhata saḥ //<sup>11</sup>

Whereas in Madhurāvijaya, King Bukka also did the same:

tatāparam tāpaharāḥ prajānām  
 purohitoktyā puruhūtakalpaḥ /  
 vyadhata kāle vibhavānurūpaḥ  
 puṁsām varāḥ puṁsavanakriyām saḥ // <sup>12</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī concludes her description of the Hemanta with the following verse:

bahulakuṅkumapaṅkavilepana-  
 prasṛmaroṣmapayodharamaṇḍalaiḥ /  
 aramatāvirataḥ ramañījanair  
 agarugandhiṣu garbhagrheṣu saḥ //<sup>13</sup>

This reminds us of the following by Kālidāsa :

payodharaiḥ kuṅkumarāgapiñjaraiḥ  
 sukhopasevyair navayauvanoṣmabhiḥ /  
 viśāsinībhiḥ paripīḍitorasaḥ  
 svapanti śītaḥ paribhūya kāmīnaḥ //<sup>14</sup>

Thus Gaṅgā Devī echoed Kālidāsa's ideas throughout her poem, for to imitate Kālidāsa is the sign of good poetry, according to her.

11. Raghuvamśa, III. 10.

12. MV, II. 13.

13. Ibid, V. 55.

14. Ṛtusamhāra, V. 9.

### 5. Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa

After Kālidāsa, Gaṅgā Devī pays a tribute to Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa and praises in the following words:

vāṇīpāṇīparāmrṣṭavīṇāṇīkvaṇahārīṇīm /

bhāvayanti kathāṃ vāṇye bhaṭṭabāṇasya bhāratīm /<sup>15</sup>

Her thorough study of the Kādambarī and the influence of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's works is reflected in the Madhurāvijaya. The Kādambarī starts with a description of king Śūdraka thus:

āśīd aśeṣanarapatiśīraḥsamabhyarcitaśāsanah /<sup>16</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī also starts her story with the description of her father-in-law Bukka in the following manner:

āśīt samastasāmantamastakanyastaśā sanah /<sup>17</sup>

In the Madhurāvijaya, king Bukka gives a long discourse to his son. This is largely modelled after Śukanāśopadeśa in Kādambarī. Śukanāśopadeśa starts thus

ārūḍhavinayam api vinītatarām icchan

kartuṃ śukanāśaḥ savistaram uvāca /<sup>18</sup>

Whereas Gaṅgā Devī commences as follows:

ārātivargonmathanena viśrutam

vidhātum atyantavinītam apy amum /

kadācid arthollasitena bhūpatiḥ

sa vaṅmayenaivam upādiśat sutam //<sup>19</sup>

15. MV, I. 8.

16. Kādambarī, Kathāmukha, Śūdraka varṇana, p. 10.

17. MV, I. 26.

Explaining the importance of updeśa, Śukanāśa says to Candrāpīḍa: gurūpadeśas' ca nāma puruṣānām akhilama-  
prkāsā lanakṣamam ajalam snānam.... asuvarnavīracana  
agrāmyam kar nābharanam atītajyotir ālokaḥ.<sup>20</sup> Similar  
idea is expressed by Gaṅgā Devī in the following stanza:

gurūpadeśaḥ kila kathayate budhair  
akarkaśam kiñcana ratnakunḍalam /  
amecakam nūtanam añjanam satām  
ajātagātrakṣayam adbhutam tapah // <sup>21</sup>

Further she says that bad people do not listen to the  
good advice of their leaders;

muhuhprasarpamadamīlītekṣaṇāḥ  
kṣaṇādhirohadrajaso malīmasāḥ /  
gajā iva stambhaniruddhacetasāḥ  
khaṭā na grhṇanti niyantrcoditam // <sup>22</sup>

In the Kādambarī also the same idea occurs: śrīvanto  
'pi ca gajanīmīlitenāvadhīrayantaḥ khedayanti hitopa-  
deśavādino gurūn.<sup>23</sup>

18. Kādambarī, Kathāmukha, Śukanāśopadeśa, p. 313.

19. MV, III. 20.

20. Kādambarī, Kathāmukha, Śukanāśopadeśa, p. 317.

21. MV, III. 22.

22. Ibid, III. 23.

23. Kādambarī, Kathāmukha, Śukanāśopadeśa, p. 318.

## 6. Bhāravi

Gaṅgā devī says that just as a garland of vakula flowers emits more fragrance after it is crushed again and again, even so Bhāravi's poem gives greater pleasure the more one ponders over it.<sup>24</sup> Implied is the fact that there is a depth of meaning (arthagaurava) in Bhāravi's poetry. Bhāravi's influence can be seen in one or two places in the Madhurāvijaya. In sixth canto, the water sports are described thus:

viśadam adheram akṣy anañjanābham  
vigatalalāma vitanvatī lalāṭam /  
ratir iva jalakelir aṅganānām  
avanipateḥ sprhaṇīyatām ayāsīt // <sup>25</sup>

Whereas Bhāravi, describing the water sports, says:

vipatralakhā niralāktakādhārā  
nirañjanākṣīr api bibhrati śriyam\* /  
nirīkṣya rāmā bubudhe nabhaścarair  
almkṛtaṃ tadvapuṣaiva maṇḍanam // <sup>26</sup>

Describing the nail marks on the breast of the beautiful Kuntala ladies, poet Gaṅgā Devī says:

parimuṣitapaṭīrālepaneṣv apy  
aviralalagnasarojakesareṣu /  
kucakalāśatateṣu kuntalīnām  
nakharapadāni na lakṣitāny abhūvan // <sup>27</sup>

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24. MV, I. 9.

25. Ibid, VI. 62.

26. Kirātārjunīyam, VIII. 40. 27. MV, VI. 63.

The inspiration behind this verse may be the following  
by Bhāravi:

tirohitāntāni nitāntam ākulair  
apāṃ vigāhād alakaiḥ prasāribhiḥ /  
yayur vadhūnāṃ vadanāni tulyatām  
dvirephabr̥ndāntaritaiḥ saroruhaiḥ // <sup>28</sup>

In the seventh canto of Madhurāvijaya, describing  
the natural changes of the dusk time, she slightly followed  
the idea of Bhāravi.<sup>29</sup>

#### 7. Bhavabhūti

In her tribute to Bhavabhūti, Gaṅgā Devī compares  
his composition to Kāmadhenu, for they produce in the  
ears of the scholars a pleasure just like the drinking  
of ambrosia.

sā kāpi surabhiḥ 'śaṅke bhavabhūteḥ sarasvatī /  
karṇeṣu labdhavarṇānām sūte sukhamayīm suhām // <sup>30</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī's description of Bukka reminds us of  
Bhavabhūti's similar description. She says that Bukka  
is

tigmāṃśor api tejasvī śītāṃsor api śītalāḥ /  
sāgarād api gambhīraḥ sumeror api yaḥ sthiraḥ // <sup>31</sup>

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28. Kirātārjunīyam , VIII. 47.

29. MV, VII. 2, 4, 5, 33, compare with Kirātārjunīya,

VII. 13; IX. 63: IX.3 and IX. 26.

30. MV, I. 11. 31. Ibid, I. 28.



Here we see the echo of Bhavabhūti's verse in the  
Uttararāmacarita:

vajrād api kaṭhorāṇi mṛdūni kusumād api/  
 lokottarāṇām cetāmsi ko hi vijñātum arhati // 32

### 8. Līlāsuka

Līlāsuka is said to belong to Kolluru in Andhra  
 pradesh. He wrote the famous Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta. Gaṅgā Devī  
 compares his writings to the ocean of honey flowing  
 from the flower clusters of the mandāra tree.

mandāramañjarīsyandimakarṇāndarasābdhayah /  
 kasya nāhlādanāyālaṃ karṇāmṛtakaver girah // 33

Whether Līlāsuka belonged to Andhra or not, the  
 following poets are definitely from Andhra region and  
 they immensely influenced Gaṅgā Devī, some of them are  
 her contemporaries.

### 9. Tikkana

Tikkana translated the last fifteen parvans of the  
 Mahābhārata in Telugu. About him Gaṅgā Devī says :  
 " As thirsty cakoras love to drink the rays of the moon,  
 poets also always find immense relish in the composition  
 of kavi Tikkana."

Tikkayasya kaveḥ sūktiḥ kaumudīva kalānidheḥ /  
 satṛṣṇaiḥ kavibhiḥ svairṇ cakorair iva sevyate // 34

Tikkana belongs to the thirteenth century A.D. He did a great service to Telugu literature by translating the Sanskrit Mahābhārata into Telugu language. First the Mahābhārata's translation into Telugu language was started by Nannaya in the eleventh century A.D., under King Rājarājanarendra. He translated only Ādi, sabhā and some part of Aranya parvans only. In Telugu literature he is known as Ādikavi.

In the thirteenth century A.D., Tikkana, minister to king Manumasiddhi of Vikramasinhapuri<sup>35</sup> (modern Nellore in Andhra Pradesh), took up the task of completing the gigantic work.

Tikkana left the incomplete Aranya parvan of Nannaya and started from <sup>the</sup> Virāta-parvan and completed upto the last Svargārohana-parvan, the major part of Mahābhārata containing fifteen parvans. We know only about the Telugu work of Tikkana, but his title "Ubhayakavimitra" shows that he may have written Sanskrit works also.

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34. MV, I. 13, Potukucci Subrahmanya Sastri, Sanskrit edition of Madhurāvijaya reads: tikkayajva-kaveh.

35. K. Lakṣmi Rāñjanam, Andhrula caritra samskr̥ti, p. 233.

In the Telugu translation of the Virāṭa-parvan, there is a charming Sanskrit verse in praise of Harihara.

kim asthimālāṃ kim kaustubhaṃ vā  
 pariṣkriyāyāṃ bahumanyase tvam /  
 kim kālakūṭaḥ kim u vā yaśodāstanyaṃ  
 tava svādu vada prabho me // 36

This verse is significant for two reasons. First Tikkana shows his knowledge of Sanskrit. Second, by praising Hari(Viṣṇu) and Hara(Śiva) together in the form of Harihara, he is criticising the sectarian conflict between the followers of Śiva and worshipers of Viṣṇu. Tikkana is propagating a synthesis of both religious sects. His teachings had influenced Vijayanagara kings, many of whom had the name Harihara.

Gaṅgā Devī, very deeply studied Tikkana's works, and those works deeply inspired her. In the Madhurāvijaya the influence of Tikkana can be seen in the ninth canto.

#### 10. Agastya

Agastya also belongs to Āndhradeśa. He was a court poet of Kākatīya King Pratāparudra Deva II of Warangal (1294- 1325 A.D.) and was probably patronised by Sangama and Bukka I of Vijayanagara.<sup>37</sup> As a master of literary art, Gaṅgā Devī mentions him as the author of seventyfour kāvyas, and as poet of great versatility. He became

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36. Andhrāmahābhāratha, Virāṭa parvan, I. 10.

37. HCSL, p. 214.

famous by name of Vidyānātha, because of his scholarship. And under that name he wrote the famous book Pratāparudrayasobhūṣana on poetics. Gaṅgā Devī praises him as follows:

catuḥsaptatikāvyoktivyaktavaiḍuṣyasampade /  
agastyāya jagaty asmin sprhyet ko na kavidaḥ //<sup>38</sup>

Agastya, apart from the Pratāparudrayasobhūṣana, has written Bālabhārata (poem in twenty cantos), Kṛṣṇacarita (prose on the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa), Nalakīrtikaumudī (poem on Nala, only two cantos are available) and the following stotras: Lakṣmīstotra, Śivastava, Lalitāsahasranāma, Maniparīkṣā, Śivasamhitā and Sakalādhikāra.<sup>39</sup>

### 11. Gaṅgādhara

Gaṅgādhara is the husband of Agastya's sister. Gaṅgā Devī adored him as the second Vyāsa, because he dramatised the Mahābhārata story. Most probably he was the author of the two plays Candravilāsa, and Rāghavābhyudaya.<sup>40</sup>

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38. MV, I. 14.

39. HCSL. pp. 214-215.

40. MV, I. 15: HSCL, p. 652.

## 12. Viśvanātha

Viśvanātha was the guru of Gaṅgā Devī. Describing him as kaviśvara, she prays for his longevity. She says that it is only through his grace even individual like her have become scholars in all śāstras and kāvyas of Sanskrit literature.

ciraṃ sa vijayī bhūyāt viśvanāth. kavīśvaraḥ /  
yasya prasādāt sārvaññyaṃ samindhe mādr̥śeṣv api //<sup>41</sup>

Viśvanātha also belongs to Warangal. He was also a court poet of Pratāparudradeva. To entertain an assembly of scholars at kākṭīya court, he wrote a one act play Saugandhikāharana.

rājñā pratāparudradeva sambhāvitair aśeṣa-vidyā-  
viśeṣa-sārasārvanjñadhaureya-matihbiḥ sabhāsadbhir  
āhūya sabahumānam adiṣṭo 'smi/  
viśvanātha iti khyātaḥ kavir astu yaduktayaḥ/  
akāñcanam aratnaṃ ca viduṣāṃ kaṇabhūṣaṇam //<sup>42</sup>

Under his able guidance, Gaṅgā Devī became a versatile genius. Agastya and Viśvanātha influenced Gaṅgā Devī very much and made her to write this beautiful poem Madhurāvijaya. Agastya was maternal uncle and Gaṅgādhara was his father. Viśvanātha praises his maternal uncle Agastya in the following verse:

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41. MV, I. 16.

42. Saugandhikāharana, 2, 3.

vācas tasya kaver udāramadhurā ity atra citraṃ kim u  
 prakhyātaṃ sakalāsu dikṣu guṇiṣu sreyān agastyāṃ sudhīṃ /  
 vedṣcandramukhī-karāṅgulidalāsāṅgakvaṇad-vallakī  
 vācayukti-sahokti-darśita-sudhājanmā sa yan mātulaḥ //<sup>43</sup>

### 13. Śrīharṣa

Gaṅgā Devī did not mention Śrīharṣa along with other great poets of Sanskrit literature. But she was influenced by Śrīharṣa's Naisadhiyacarita, especially the description of king Nala's horse and the description of the moon rise in the night.<sup>44</sup>

Śrīharṣa describes Nala's horse in a long kukaka. Likewise Gaṅgā Devī devotes nine stanzas for the description of Kampana's horse. Gaṅgā Devī says:

mukhalīnakhalināhir acchapalyayñacchadaḥ/  
 vapuṣāpi garutmantam anugantum divotsukh //<sup>45</sup>

The source for this may be the following by Śrīharṣa:

api dvijihvābhyavahārapauruṣe  
 mukhānuṣṭāyatavalguvalgayā /  
 upeyivāṃsaṃ pratimallatām raya  
 smaye jītasya prasabhaṃ garutmataḥ //<sup>46</sup>

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43. Saugandhikāharana, 4.

44. Naisadhiyacarita, on horse, I. 59-60; and moon rise XXII. 56, 58.

45. MV, IV. 25.

46. Naisadhiyacarita, I. 63.

in the Madhurāvijaya, prince Kāmpa requests his beloved to describe the full moon night:

kamalākṣi kaṭākṣyatām ayaṃ  
 samayo varṇanayā rasārdrayā /  
 jana eṣa vacas tavāmṛtaṃ  
 śravasā pāyayitum kutūhalī //<sup>47</sup>

The main idea for this scene was from Naisadhīyacarita .  
 In that poem king Nala requests Damayantī to describe the beautiful scene of the rising moon:

atraiva vāṇīm adhunā tavāpi  
 'śrotum samīhe madhunah sanābhim  
 iti priyapreṭitayā tayātha  
 prastotum ārambhi śasīpra, sastih //<sup>48</sup>

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47. MV, VII. 40.

48. Naisadhīyacarita , XXII. 58.

#### 14. Infuence of Telugu Poets on Gaṅgā Devī

##### The importance of Telugu Mahābhārata

The translation of the great Sanskrit Mahābhārata into Telugu had an important role in Telugu literature. In the seventh and eight century A.D., Tamil Mahābhārata was written by Perindevarar Kavi in regional venba poems. In Kannada language, Pampa Kavi wrote the Vikramārjuna-vijaya and Rāma Kavi wrote Gadāyuddha or Sāhasabhīma - Vijaya; both works were based on the Mahābhārata. Until the eleventh century A.D. Telugu literature could not create any major work in Telugu language.

But, between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, the Mahābhārata was translated into Telugu by Nannaya, Tikkana, and Errana. Nannaya translated the Ādi and Sabhā parvans and a part of the Aranya parvan, which was completed by Errana in the fourteenth century. Tikkana translated the remaining fifteen parvans, starting from the Virāṭa.

In the Madhurāvijaya, Gaṅgā Devī specially mentioned Tikkana. This shows her great respect to Tikkana. But she is influenced by Nannaya too.

Nannaya and Tikkana compared the armed forces to rivers and oceans. Gaṅgā Devī also compares forces to rivers and oceans. During his advice to Kampana Bukka Says:



sahasraśas 'tūṅgaturāṅgavicayo  
 madāvīpādvīpa viśeṣitāntarāḥ /  
 bhavantam ugrāyudhanakrarājayo  
 bhajanti nityaṃ bahulā balābdayaḥ //<sup>49</sup>

Here the poet compares the army to the ocean, horses in thousands act as its waves, elephants are like huge islands, and the destructive weapons are like crocodiles in the waters. The same idea about armies had been described before her by Nannaya in the Mahābhārata in the following manner

rayavicalatturāṅgamatarāṅgamulan madanāṅganakrasaṃ  
 cayamula samcalaccaṭula-sainikamatsyamulan bhayaṃkaraṃ  
 baye yaduvr̥ṣṇi bhojakukuramdhaka vāhiniyumaḷonge nir  
 dayatara roṣamārutanitāṃtaśmīritāmai kṣaṇambhunan //<sup>50</sup>

At another place, Gaṅgā Devī describes the army as the ocean in which the horses with their foaming mouths and wind-like speed looked just like the waves.<sup>51</sup> The same idea was given by Tikkana in his Mahābhārata, in Bhīṣma parvan.<sup>52</sup>

Gaṅgā Devī describes Bukka's incomparable feeling of pleasure when he embraces his son in these words:

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49. MV. III. 39.

50. Āndhramahābhārata, Sabhā parvan, 11. 33.

51. MV, IV. 9.

52. Āndhramahābhārata, Bhīṣma parvan, 1. 83.

tathā na karpūrabharair na hārair  
 na candanair nāpy amṛtāmsupādaiḥ /  
 yathābhavan nirvṛtameśaya gātram  
 sutāṅgasamparsābhuvā sukhena //<sup>53</sup>

In the Telugu Mahābhārata also Nannaya presents the same idea through Sākuntalā in the court of Duṣyanta:

viparītapratibhṣal emitikin urvinātha yi putragā  
trapariṣvaṃgasukhambu seṇnumu muktāhāra karpūra sāṃ  
draparāgaprasaraṃbu jaṃdanamu jaṃdrīyotsnayaḥ butragā  
trapariṣvaṃgamunaṭlu jīvulaku haṛ dayāṃbe kaḍun śītame //<sup>54</sup>

The Mahābhārata is mainly famous for its fearsome and gruesome battle between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. In the Telugu Mahābhārata Tikkana with his own experience directly or indirectly with battle fields described the battle very vividly and beautifully. Its influence on Gaṅgā Devī can be seen in ninth canto very clearly. Wherever she describes the armies or the battle field or the battle itself, the main inspiration of Tikkana can be seen in her poem. Battle between the horse to horse, elephant to elephant and about the blood rivers in the battle field, pearls from the broken heads of elephants attacked by heroic warriors etc., were described lucidly in ninth canto. <sup>55</sup>

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53. MV, II. 38.

54. Āndhramahābhārata, Adi parvan, IV. 90.

55. MV, IX. 2, 3, 4.

In the Drona parvan, Tikkana, describing the battle between Bhagadatta and Arjuna, says in prose:

karavālādhāralagananagu, kumbhi-kumbha-mauktikāmbulunu,  
turaṅgakhuraṁbulam garate radāmbulunu benaṅgonucu  
vrelu prevulunu degipadayu namkusāmbulu viṣuvaka  
mitti mitti paḍu bāhuvulunu, donḍāmbulunu benaci  
ettinaṁdarunu hayaṁbulu vrelu rāvutulunu mumdari  
kāllu degavresina gūlu śundālaṁbulunu..... 56

According to poetics, in a Mahākāvya, there must be vivid description of the dawn and dusk. It is a common feature of Telugu poets, that they are always very nearer to the nature in describing the beautiful sceneries of the dawn and the dusk. This influence can be seen in Gaṅgā Devī also. About the dusk she illustrates:

adhoragāṇām adhipasya bhavinam  
 bhuvo bharasyāpa gamaṇ dīneśvaraḥ /  
 nivedayiṣyann iva gādharaṁhasā  
 rathena pātāla guhām agāhata // 57

Later Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa (1530-1580 A.D.) in his Vasucaritra describes the same idea like this. Here the poet symbolises the Sun set and the Sun as a happy messenger to the ocean to tell about the moon rising.

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56. Āndhramahābhārata, Drona parvan, I. 377 prose.

57. MV, III. 46.

bhavadanujātmajan vasunrpāluḍu gaikonu nell<sup>e</sup>netana  
yyavani varaprasāda<sup>m</sup>una namṭaduvobhavadeya jātikim  
bavibhaya maṃcu mamcumala paṭṭiki bhāvi subhaṃbu loka bāṃ  
dhavu derigiṃpa boyina vidhaṃbuna nege bayodi<sup>h</sup>centakun //<sup>58</sup>

Another example for the influence of Telugu poets on Gaṅgā Devī can be seen in seventh canto. Here, the description of the night's is inspired by a stanza of Nannecoḍa in his Kumārasambhava.<sup>59</sup>

Following him Gaṅgā Devī describes the spreading of the darkness thus:

nayanāni janasya tatksaṇāna  
 niruṇaddhi sma nir antaraṃ tamaḥ /  
 ravidīpabhṛtābhrakarpa  
 cyutakālāṇanapuñjamecakam //

<sup>60</sup>

#### 15. Gaṅgā Devī's influence on later poets

Later she inspired many poets by her beautiful presentation and style. The great king of Vijayanagara kingdom Śrī Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's court-poet Mukku Timmana, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, and Ādidamu Sūrakavi, etc., were some of those whose writings we can see similarities with Gaṅgā Devī's Madhurāvijaya.

58. Vasucaritra, IV. 4.

59., Nannecoḍa, Kumārasambhava, VI. 96.

60. MV, VII. 26.

For example, Gaṅgā Devī, describing the peaceful rule of Kampana, says that it looks as though the mother Earth, having found rest on his strong beautiful arms lessened the burden of her first supporters, namely Kūrma and Śeṣa.

drahīmasālīni bhoga manohare  
katakadhārīṇi dānaguṇorjite /  
nṛpatidoṣṇi nivās am upetya bhūr  
alaghatat prathamāspadagauravam // 61

Mukku Timmana, (1500-1530 A.D.), one of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's court poet, presents the same idea, while describing the beauty of the king and his peaceful rule.

ala phanibhogaratnamulun ādigibhotkata-gaṇḍa-gandnamul  
talapunabāri navvu vasudhāsati dā bhujakīrti mauktika  
chalamuna kṛṣṇarāyanṛupa-candrunibāhuvunandu bhūṣano  
jjavalmāṇulan mṛ gimadamu vāsanayum gani dhṛtalaṅganal // 6

Describing a rain of hail storm Gaṅgā Devī says that it looks as though the clouds are vomiting the pearls which they had stolen along with the water from the ocean:

paṭupuraḥpavanādhigatabh. ramā  
jalamucaḥ kaṅkopalakaitavāt  
salilarāśipayaḥ saha cūṣitām  
udavamann iva mauktikaśamhatim // 63

61. Ibid, V. 6.

62. Mukku Timmana, Pārijātāpaharāṇa, 1. 20.

63. MV, V. 29.

Later Tenali Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi (1495-1560 A.D.), one of the Aṣṭadiggaja's at Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's court, presents the same idea in his poem Pānduraṅgamāhātmyam.

prabalu vaḍagaṁḍlun imdragopamulu jaṁḍu  
phalamulunu bolce baccikapattulaṁdu /  
vanadhinirāna deralun ammaṇulan ella  
naṁbudāmbulu veli grāse naruga kanaga //<sup>64</sup>

More similarites and influence of Madhurāvijaya can be seen in Āḍidam Sūrakavi's Kavijanarañjanamu. Describing the city and its beautiful women, Gaṇḍā Devī says that Cupid gave up the thought of using his flower-arrows upon the lovers because the eyes of beautiful women and their glances do the same work.

yatra strīṇām kaṭākṣeṣu yūnām hr̥daya hāriṣu /  
 puṣpāstrasañcaye vāñchām muñcate pañcasāyakah // <sup>65</sup>

The same idea was expressed by Āḍidamu Sūrakavi. Here also the Love God Cupid finds that beautiful women's glances are more effective than his flower-arrows. He thought they are useless, so he left them.

64. Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, Pānduraṅgamāhātmyam, IV. 23.

65. MV. I. 62.

kaliki cūpulu dāna sāyakamulu kaṁṭe  
vāḍulai lokaviḥaya dhūrvahamu lauṭa /  
nemipā<sup>hi</sup>vini dālpāṁga nimka nanucu  
gāna pālcese dana yāmbakamula maruḍu // <sup>66</sup>

A special mention must be made of Nārāyaṇa Kavi's Rāghavendraviḥaya. This Rāghavendra belongs to the seventeenth century and is the principal guru of Sumatīndra Maṭha. On the occasion of the glorious victory of Rāghavendra, one of the great poets of that time Nārāyaṇa Kavi wrote this poem. This poem is much closer to the Madhurāviḥaya.<sup>67</sup> The inherent inspiration of Madhurāviḥaya can be seen throughout the Rāghavendraviḥaya poem. This example alone is sufficient to prove the greatness and scholarship of Gaṅgā Devī, and her influence on Andhra poets.

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66. Kaviḥanarañjanamu, I. 45.

67. MVS, Introduction in Telugu, p. 72.

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